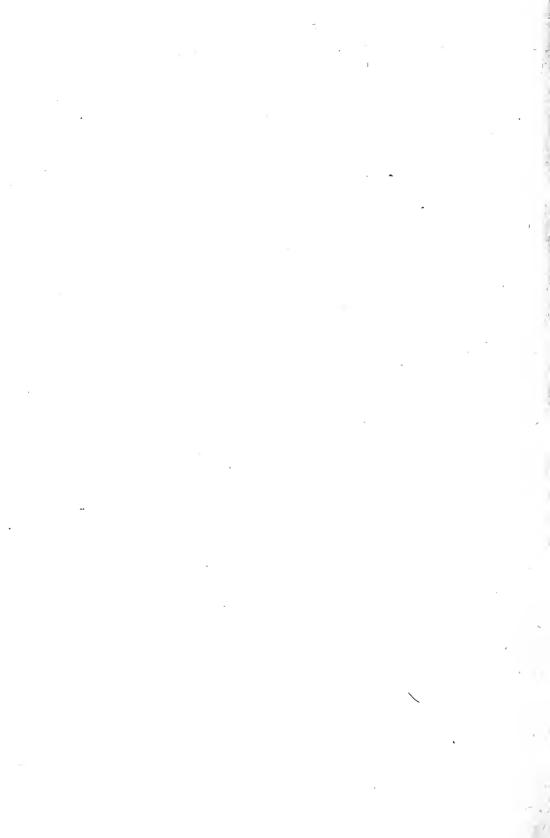
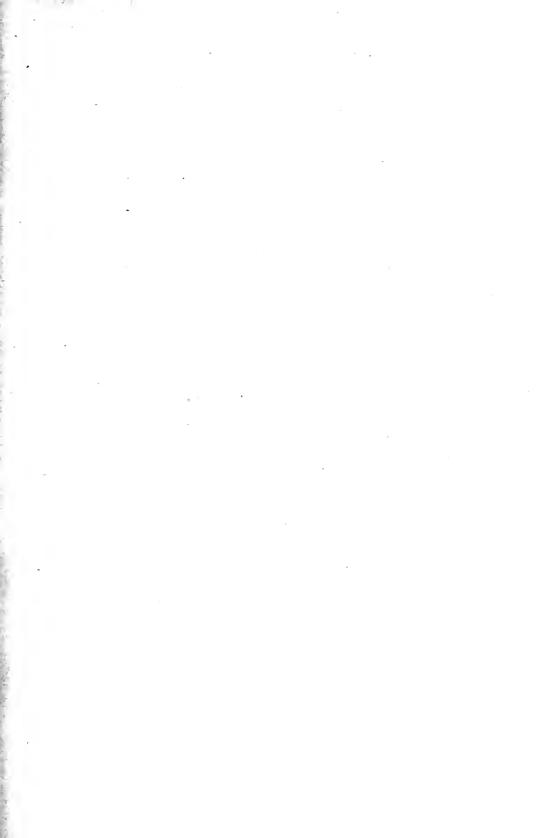
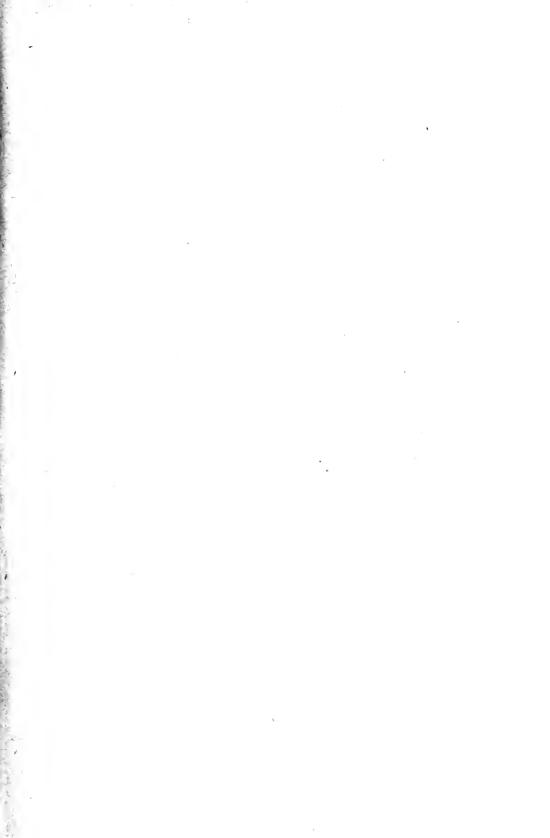
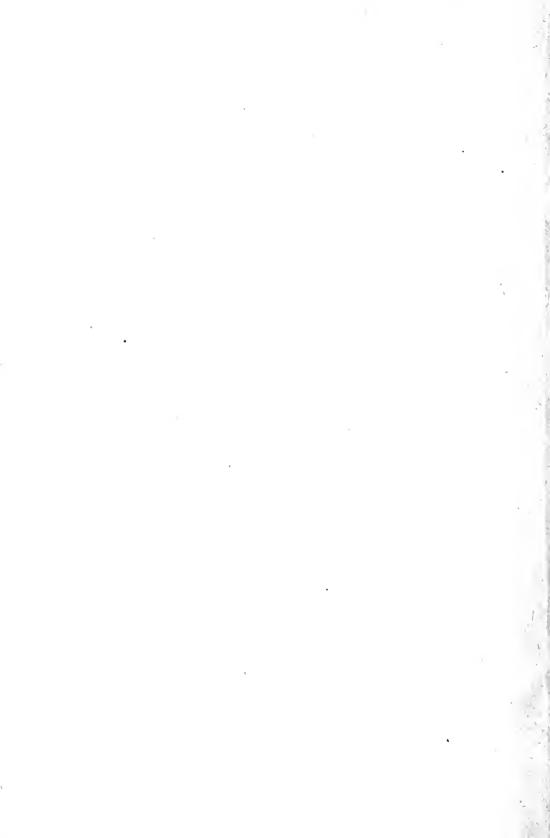
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THE BIBLICAL WORLD





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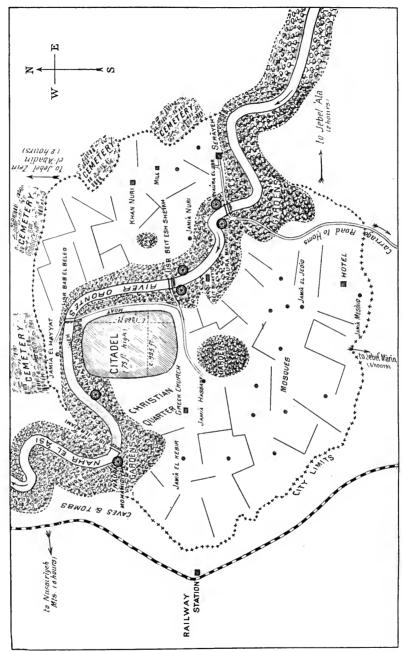
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PLAN OF HAMATH

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXII

JULY, 1908

NUMBER I

Editorial

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE COLLEGES

That great progress has been made in the study of the Bible in the colleges of the country in the last quarter-century no one at all familiar with the facts can for a moment doubt. The opportunities for such study have been greatly increased, better textbooks provided, and the number of students availing themselves of these opportunities multiplied many fold. For this progress, a large share of the credit must be given to the Young Men's Christian Association, ably seconded by the Young Women's Christian Association. College officers have in many cases heartily co-operated with the associations, in some notable cases have been independently active; but it is but just to say that in most institutions the influence which has resulted in the growth of Bible-study has come not from the faculty but from outside the college, and the colleges have somewhat tardily swung into line. Today, in a large number of institutions, faculty, students, and association officers are working harmoniously for the same end, the promotion of Bible-study with a view to the development of Christian intelligence and character.

So much having been done, it may seem that there is no room today for criticism but only for rejoicing. On the contrary, so much remains to be accomplished that what has been done only furnishes a reason for building larger and stronger on the foundation already laid. In a majority of the colleges of the country most of the systematic Bible-study done by students is carried on under student leaders and of course without college credit, or any recognized place in the college curriculum. Excellent as this is, it is far from being an ideal situation. In the first place the amount of work falls far

below the demands of the subject. One who reads that 30,000 or 40,000 students are studying the Bible in American colleges in Y. M. C. A. classes may conclude that more could not be desired. But if he goes behind the returns, he will find that many of the units in this total 40,000 represent a very small amount of work: an attendance at perhaps twelve meetings of the class, or perhaps only six, or possibly only registration at a Bible-study rally with no subsequent work. Even college statistics are subject to some discount for students who registered for a course, but fell out by the way. How inevitable it is that this discount must be far larger in an organization which has no power to enforce attendance on its classes, and no scrutiny of the statistics of registration by a competent superior authority. And aside from all inflation of statistics, what do these figures represent? One meeting a week for which little or no preparation is made, even if continued through the college course, is all too little. But this is rarely or never the case. The year is shortened at the beginning and at the end, and few students continue the study more than one or at the most two years. Yet more serious than the shortness of the course is the incompetence of the instructors. Religion is not so simple a thing, and the problems of the Bible student are not so easy to deal with that, while thoroughly trained men, employed at the highest salary which the college can afford to pay, are needed to teach the classics and mathematics and the sciences, the teaching of the Bible can be left to untrained or selftrained undergraduates. Much as has been done under just this system, it should be simply a stepping-stone to something far better. There is always danger that the good shall be the enemy of the better, instead of its forerunner. It is this danger that we ought now to recognize and avoid.

How then shall the situation be met? Comprehensively stated, by hearty co-operation and intelligent differentiation of function. What the colleges can do best, the colleges ought to do. What the associations can do best, they should undertake. This means in the first place that the colleges ought to give to the Bible and related subjects a place in the curriculum commensurate with their importance, and provide thoroughly competent instructors to teach these subjects. At present the college fills up the student's schedule of

hours with mathematics, literature, and science, too often offering him no courses in the Bible, in the fundamental principles of Christianity or the facts of Christian history, contenting itself with the fact that the Christian associations offer some optional hour-a-week courses under student leaders. The college virtually says to its students that it isn't worth while for them to study these subjects seriously. Even the courses in Christian evidence and the relation of Christianity to natural religion which were common in Christian colleges a generation or two ago have disappeared. The result is a most unfortunate ignorance of the fundamental facts of the Christian religion on the part of the present and recent generations of college students. An intelligent lawyer in a large city recently said that there was no subject in which the business and professional men of his acquaintance were more deeply interested, and of which they more keenly regretted their ignorance, than the fundamental questions of religion. These men, many of them college graduates, had had not only no encouragement from their colleges to study these things, but no opportunity even. In times past our state universities have been under some embarrassment in this matter. That day is rapidly passing, even for them. But for the denominational college and the university not under state control there is no embarrassment, and no adequate excuse for failure to offer courses, under as able men as the faculty contains, in the Bible, the central elements of Christianity, and at least an outline course in the history and present status of the Christian church.

Does this mean, then, the elimination of the Christian Association from the field of Bible-study in the colleges? Far from it. Their work there has been invaluable in the past and is indispensable in the present. In the first place, they have still a mission in doing as well as they can, what the colleges ought to do well but are not doing at all. And in the second place they will always be needed, not only in the promotion of religious life on its devotional side, and of religious activity, but in the promotion of Bible-study. There are obvious reasons why the professor of biblical literature and Christian history cannot systematically solicit students to enter his classes, and desirable as it is that students should take these courses, it is doubtful whether the college should as a rule make them required.

It is scarcely less obvious that there is a need, which does not exist, to the same degree at least, in the case of other studies, for some constraining influence to draw students into these courses. average college student thinks he knows the Bible because he has attended Sunday school from childhood. If he has not been a Sunday-school pupil he is all the more certain to think that the Bible is not worth studying. Really ignorant of much that he ought to know, and how interesting and profitable such study becomes under competent teaching, he has acquired a distaste for it and prejudice against it. Here is a legitimate and useful field of effort for the Christian Associations. They have done excellent work in introducing voluntary extra-curriculum study. But this can never be adequate and the association can never do the work of instruction, which it belongs to the college to provide. Having wrought so well thus far, their next opportunity and duty is to confess the inadequacy of present conditions, and to urge upon the colleges to take over this work which belongs to them, and to do competently what no agency coming from outside or conducted by the students themselves can ever do as its importance demands that it shall be done.

It is not less clearly the duty of our colleges without waiting for stimulus from the association to provide competent instructors in the Bible, the fundamentals of Christianity, and the elements of Christian history, and to encourage all their students to include such courses in their election of studies. The period of neglected opportunity on the part of the colleges and of vicarious service on the part of the Association ought speedily to give place to one of cordial cooperation and differentiation of function according to the responsibility and ability of each.

THE ENTRANCE OF HAMATH

PROFESSOR GEORGE L. ROBINSON, D.D. McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

One of the most ancient cities of the world is Hamath, superbly situated on the River Orontes at the northern end of the broad valley of Coele-Syria, about 120 miles north of Damascus. In Gen. 10:18 its people are described as Canaanites, who, however, from the proper names discovered in certain inscriptions, must have spoken a Semitic language. For centuries it was probably one of the royal cities of the Hittites. Seven hundred years before Christ it was the seat of an independent kingdom which extended south at least 50 miles, or as far as Riblah (II Kings 23:33; 25:21).

The city was known to the Hebrews as Hamath, which name is perpetuated by the Arabs who call it Ḥamā.¹ Josephus knew it by the name Amathe, but states that the Macedonians called it Epiphania—a name probably given to it by Antiochus Epiphanes (176–164 B. c.).² Emath or Amath is found in I Macc. 12:25, and also in the writings of early Christian authors. The city at present is estimated to have from sixty to eighty thousand inhabitants. Its altitude is about 1,015 feet above sea-level.

Hamath first engages attention historically in the tenth century B. C., when its king, Toi, sent his son to congratulate David on his victory over Hadadezer, their common enemy (II Sam. 8:10). Solomon a little later is said to have taken (the district of) Hamath and to have built store cities in it (II Chron. 8:3, 4). When the schism under Rehoboam took place its inhabitants evidently took advantage of Israel's crippled condition to regain their independence.

Hamath is frequently mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. According to Schrader,³ Shalmanezer II (854 B. C.) defeated Irḥulena,

י האָק, meaning, "fortress" or "sacred inclosure;" once in the A. V. arbitrarily spelled "Hemath" (Amos 6:14); in Arabic בُــٰك.

² Antiq., i, 6, 2.

³ Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament (2d ed., 1883), pp. 201 f. (translated under the title The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament, 1885, 1888).

the king of Hamath, who had made an alliance with the Hittites and with Benhadad of Damascus, with Ahab of Israel also, and with several other states. Nevertheless, Hamath must have retained its influence and power in the eighth century B. C., for the prophet Amos speaks of it as "Hamath the Great" (6:2). About this time Jeroboam II, one of the strongest of the kings of the Ten Tribes, succeeded in capturing it, with Damascus, bringing it under the



HAMATH CASTLE

hand of Israel (II Kings 14:28). Not long afterward, however, Tiglath-pileser III appeared in the West Land, according to the inscriptions, and forced Hamath's king Eni-îlu (Eniel) to pay tribute to Assyria (740 B. C.). Tiglath-pileser also distributed the land of Hamath among his generals, and transported 1,223 of its choicest inhabitants to the regions of the Upper Tigris.

Shortly after the captivity of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, Hamath joined with the remnant of the Israelites in Samaria in a revolt against Assyria, but the city was quickly retaken by Sargon II (720 B. C.), who boasts of having humbled its king and of having colonized the land with 4,300 Assyrians. Its defeat at the hands of the Assyrians seems to have made a profound impression upon the prophet Isaiah (10:9); on the other hand, Rabshakeh, the commander-in-chief of Sennacherib's army, repeatedly boasts of Assyria's great victory in taking such a stronghold (II Kings 18:34; 19:13). It appears that colonists were brought by Sargon from Hamath to Samaria (II Kings 17:24, 30), who worshiped the goddess Ashima (the Ishtar or Venus of the Assyrians); and that some of the inhabitants of Samaria were transported to Hamath (Isa. 11:11).

Thereafter Hamath's history becomes merged in that of Damascus, the former having become subordinate to the latter (Jer. 40:23). To Ezekiel, however, Hamath remained a fixed boundary of the territory of the new theocracy (47:17). At Hamath Jonathan met the generals of Demetrius, to prevent their entering the Holy City (I Macc. 12:25). In 630 A.D., Hamath surrendered without resistance to the advancing Muslims under Abu 'Ubeida, who six years later took Damascus. Falling under Muslim domination, Hamath's churches were soon converted into mosques. In the troublous times of the Crusades, Tancred, it is true, succeeded in capturing the city (1108), but it was soon wrested from the Franks by Toghtekin, a Turk (1115). An earthquake shattered it in 1157. In 1178, it fell into the hands of Saladin. In 1310, one of Saladin's descendants, the eminent Arabian scholar, Abulfeda, was appointed prince or governor of the province. He was known as el-Melik el-Muayvad, "the king favored of God." Abulfeda was one of the two most famous citizens Hamath ever produced.5 Being a geographer, a scientist, and a historian of the highest rank, he attracted to him many of the most eminent scholars of his time. Upon his death in 1331, Hamath's fortunes declined. Today, though the seat of a mutesarrif and of a Turkish garrison, it ranks, in culture and intelligence, little above the ordinary town of Syria and Palestine.

⁴ Hebrew tradition suggests that Ashima was "a hairless goat;" or, "a cat to which the ram of the guilt offering was sacrificed;" some have conjectured that Ashima is the same as the Persian Asman, heaven; or the Babylonian Tashmetu, the goddess of revelation and wife of Nebo.

⁵ The other was the celebrated geographer Yâkût who died in 1229.

Burckhardt visited Hamath in 1812 and describes it as follows:0

Hamath is situated on both sides of the Orontes; a part of it is built on the declivity of a hill, and a part in the plain; the quarters in the plain are called Hadher and el-Jisr; those higher up el-cAleyât and el-Medîneh. Medîneh is the abode of the Christians. In the middle of the city is a square mound of earth, upon which the castle formerly stood; the materials, as well as the stones with which it is probable that the hill was faced, have been carried away and used in the erection of modern buildings. There are four bridges over the



BRIDGE TO THE SERÂYEH-HAMATH

Orontes in the town. The river supplies the upper town with water by means of buckets fixed to high wheels (Na ura) which empty themselves into stone canals, supported by lofty arches on a level with the upper parts of the town. There are about a dozen of the wheels; the largest of them, called Na ura el-Mohamidiyeh, is at least seventy feet in diameter. The town, for the greater part, is well built, although the walls of the dwellings, a few palaces excepted, are of mud; but their interior makes amends for the roughness of their external appearance.

Burckhardt's description answers almost perfectly the conditions as they exist today. A hundred years have wrought but little

⁶ Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, 1822, pp. 146 f.

change. Modern Hamath is, indeed, attractive and in some respects picturesque. The River Orontes, which the Arabs call el-'Aṣi, flows through it in curves from southeast to northwest, spanned by four arched stone bridges, which are very handsome. Beautiful and extensive gardens, filled with poplars and all manner of fruit trees (except the orange and lemon) adorn the river's banks north and south, dividing the white city by a broad belt of green. Near the



THE LARGEST WHEEL (60 FT.) CALLED NAGURA MOHAMIDÎYEH-HAMATH

middle of the town on its northern side rises the Castle Hill, which the natives declare is wholly artificial. It rises some 75 feet above the surrounding plain. The river is thought originally to have run to the south of this hill, as the old river bed is still distinguishable. A moat one hundred feet broad surrounds its base.

But the most beautiful and characteristic feature of Hamath is the large waterwheels (Nacura), thought to be of Persian origin, by means of which the gardens are irrigated. Though numerous buckets are attached to them, which raise the water to the high aqueducts into which they discharge themselves, yet the current of the river

is sufficiently strong to turn the immense wheels, and their incessant creaking may be heard day and night.

Hamath is also celebrated for its mosques, many of which are supplied with graceful minarets. There are said to be twenty-four in all. The handsomest is the Jamic el-Kebîr, or great mosque; another especially interesting is called the Jamic el-Hayya, or serpent mosque, because two of its columns are intertwined in a ser-



BRIDGE AND SERÂYEH—HAMATH
Wheel and street leading up to the Serâyeh or Government Building

pentine fashion; under the minaret of the latter is shown the tomb of Abulfeda. The houses are mostly built of sun-dried mud brick with conical roofs; though some of the buildings are constructed with alternating courses of black basalt and white limestone. On the northern side of the town in the low cliffs of the river valley, subterranean cavities, even catacombs and ancient cisterns, are in some instances used as dwellings by the poorer classes. The bazaars are large and quaintly oriental. The chief industry is the manufacture of the 'Abayeh or Arabian mantle. Other textiles of less impor-

tance, including leather goods, are also produced, but Hamath's trade is chiefly in mantles with the Bedouin Arabs and the Nusairîyeh. Like all Moslems in inland parts, the people are proud and fanatical; yet among them are to be found gentlemen of culture. The chief physician of the town is Doctor Taufik Sallum Effendi—a graduate of the Medical Department of the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut—who in gentility and scholarship would grace the



HAMATH FROM CASTLE HILL-LOOKING EAST

most intellectual company of any land. Some possess rich and handsomely furnished houses. Among the most famous are the house of Muayyad Bey, the interior of which is very tastefully decorated, and the palace of the emirs of the Kilâni family. The latter is situated on the right bank of the river near the bridge east of Castle Hill, and is exceedingly ornate.

The best panoramic view of Hamath and its environs is from Castle Hill. In various commentaries and dictionaries of the Bible, the impression is frequently given, even by the most recent writers

upon Hamath, that the city is situated at the mouth of some great break in the mountains, through which the Orontes has forced its way, and that "the entering in of Hamath" means a "narrow pass." On the contrary, the mountains round about Hamath are neither near nor high. In the northeast, six miles away, rises Jebel Zein el^cAbdîn, which is little more than a chain of low hills. Its continuation southward culminates in two low peaks called Jebel Kaisun and Jebel el-Ala, which last is about due east of the city; the entire range being at least two hours distant from Hamath. On the south, at about the same distance, rises a low chalky isolated peak called Jeben Macrîn; while on the west fully fifteen miles away are the mountains of the Nusairîyeh. As to topography, instead of occupying a pass, Hamath is situated in a great open rolling plain from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth, the valley of the river being but a few feet lower than that of the table-land which stretches away in either direction, east, west, north, and south. This fact should be borne in mind as we come now to consider the significance of the phrase "the entrance of Hamath."

The phrase "the entrance of Hamath" occurs in the Old Testament eleven times, and seems to refer in every case to some definite geographical district of Lebanon or North Syria. Whether this phrase means "the approach to Hamath," or, "the entering in of the district of Hamath," we shall best discover from a review of the passages in which the expression is found.

- 1. According to Num. 13:21, the spies "went up and spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob to the entrance of Hamath." Here the author seems to point to a well-known region northward from Rehob; Rehob being situated near Laish or Dan.
- 2. In Num. 34:8 the northern boundary of Israel is defined as passing "from Mount Hor... unto the entrance of Hamath; and the goings out of the border shall be at Zedad... Ziphron... and Hazar-enan." Whether these proper names are better identified with modern Arab places in the extreme northern part of Lebanon and Syria, as Furrer and most writers; or, with others, in

⁷ In Hebrew, usually בְּבוֹא הֲמְת ; sometimes with עָד, often with עָד נֹבָח preceding.

⁸ Zeitschrift d. deutschen Palaestina-Vereins, VIII, 27-29.

the extreme southern part of Lebanon and Syria, as Van Kastern and Buhl, is a question which can scarcely be said to be answered. In the first case, Mount Hor is identified with the northern spur of Lebanon northeast of Tripoli; Zedad is the modern Sadad; Ziphron is the modern Safrâne; Hazar-enan is Karyatén, an oasis about midway between Homs and Palmyra; and "the entrance of Hamath" is the great plain about the modern Restan—the border town between the districts of Homs and Hamath. In the second case, Mount Hor is a peak a few miles northwest of Tell el-Kâdi (Dan); Zedad is Serâda (cf. the LXX) south of Hermon; Hazar-enan is the modern el-Ḥaḍr east of Banias, and "the entrance of Hamath" is Merj 'Ayûn or meadow-plain west of Hermon.

- 3. According to Josh. 13:5, when Joshua was about to die there remained "yet very much land to be possessed" by Israel, including "the land of the Gebalites and all Lebanon toward the sun rising, from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon unto the entrance of Hamath." The entire stretch of the Lebanons seems obviously to be included within these boundaries.
- 4. According to Judg. 3:3, after the death of Joshua, among the nations left in the land to prove Israel were "the five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in Mount Lebanon from Mount Baal-hermon unto the entrance of Hamath." Again the impression seems to be conveyed of a geographical area extending from the base of Hermon northward and including Lebanon and Coele-Syria.
- 5. According to I Chron. 13:5, after David had captured from the Jebusites the stronghold of Zion, wishing to make it his religious capital, he "assembled all Israel together from the Shihor, the brook of Egypt even unto the entrance of Hamath, to bring the ark of God from Kiriath-jearim." The geography of this passage will of course depend upon the meaning of the phrase as determined from other contexts.
- 6. In I Kings 8:65, it is said that when Solomon had finished the temple he observed the feast of tabernacles, gathering at Jerusalem "a great assembly from the entrance of Hamath unto the brook of

⁹ Revue biblique, 1895, pp. 23 ff.; Buhl, Geographie des alten Palaestina, 1896, pp. 10, 66 f.

- Egypt." Within these limits the author includes the entire land of Canaan, from the most northern portion to the river of Egypt; i. e., from north Syria to the Wady el-Arîsh, a desert stream about half way between Gaza and the northeastern border of Egypt (cf. II Chron. 7:8).
- 7. In II Kings 14:25, we read that Jeroboam II "restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah, according to the word of Jehovah, the God of Israel, which he spake by his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet who was of Gath-hepher." The territory which is here alluded to was doubtless that portion which had been lost under Jeroboam's predecessors, including Bashan and Gilead and North Syria.
- 6. When Amos (6:14) describes the full extent of the devastation which shall be wrought by Assyrian invaders, he says: "For behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith Jehovah the God of Hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entrance of Hamath unto the brook of the Arabah." As in the previous passages "the entrance of Hamath" is here intended to designate the furthest limit of Israelitish territory on the north.
- 9. Lastly, Ezekiel (47:20) bounds the holy possessions of the new theocracy, on the west, by "the great sea, from the south border as far as over against the entrance of Hamath." From this language it seems reasonable to conclude that to the prophet "the great sea" and "the entrance of Hamath" were closely related geographically (cf. 47:17; 48:1).

What, in view of these data, is the probable meaning of the phrase "the entrance of Hamath"? and, if the equivalent of a proper name for a definite geographical district, where, then, was it probably located? We must be content with conclusions which are more or less indefinite.

1. In the writer's judgment, the phrase cannot be confined to "the mouth of the pass between the Lebanons a little north of Rehob and Dan (Num. 13:21; cf. Judg. 18:28) which was considered the starting-point of the road to Hamath;" inasmuch as Josh. 13:5 clearly intimates that "the entrance of Hamath" was at some dis-

10 As Driver on Amos 6:2 in Cambridge Bible; G. A. Smith, The Twelve Prophets, I, 177; and Buhl, Geographie des alten Palaestina, pp. 66, 110.

tance "from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon." The phrase may have come to denote to the Hebrews the long valley of Coele-Syria from south to north, but never was it restricted to the southern entrance only.

2. Neither can it be confined to "the opening between the Nusairîyeh Mountains above Tripoli and the north point of the Lebanon chains;" though the pass which leads westward to Kal'at



THE ORONTES IN HAMATH

el-Ḥoṣn and the Mediterranean may well be included in the phrase (cf. Ezek. 47:20). This is an important pass which leads from the the coast to Ḥoms and Ḥamâ, as the ancient castle of the Kurds which has commanded it for centuries would indicate.

3. Nor should the phrase be restricted to "the low screen of hills which forms the water-shed between the Orontes and the Litâny;" for the northern boundary of Israel's territory was cer-

II As Pinches, article "Hamath," in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, II, 200a.

¹² As Rawlinson, article "Hamath," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, II, 986b.

tainly north of Riblah, which lay on their east border-line (cf. Num. 34:11).

4. The most probable conclusion, therefore, is, that the phrase "the entrance of Hamath" was a stereotyped expression used by the Hebrews to designate primarily the district round about the city of Hamath on the Orontes in North Syria; that they employed it with some latitude, however, sometimes meaning by it the approach to Hamath; ¹³ at others, the neighborhood of Hamath, or the great plain which extends southward from Hamath, and at Ḥoms divides eastward and westward. Josephus makes this phrase in II Kings 14:25 refer to the actual city of Hamath. ¹⁴ On the other hand the Chronicler speaks of the city of Hamath as though it were a district (II Chron. 8:4).

As the traveler from the south approaches Riblah, he finds himself entering a new region. The broad plain of Homs (thirty miles south of Hamath) opens out before him, and he soon observes that he is geographically at the intersection of four great mountain passes: one on the left connecting the inland region of Coele-Syria with the coast of the Mediterranean Sea; one from the Syrian desert on the east; and the two which stretch indefinitely north and south. This then is "the entrance of Hamath"—the geographical proper name of the great plain which extends southward from Hamath, including the broad interval or depression between the north end of the Lebanon chain and the Nusairîyeh Mountains. Edward Robinson's view does not differ essentially from ours. He says:

The entering in of Hamath may then refer, either generally to the whole of the great depression, affording as it does an easy passage from the coast to the plain of the Orontes; or, specifically, to the pass through the ridge under el-Ḥusn and the low water-shed east of the Buka' (Coele-Syria); or, more specifically still, only to this low water-shed adjacent to the plain of the Orontes. In either application, the phrase is intelligible and sufficiently definite. ¹⁵

¹³ Cf. the kindred phrase in Gen. 13:10, "as thou goest unto Zoar."

¹⁴ Antiq., ix, 10, 1.

¹⁵ Later Biblical Researches, III (1872), 569.

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT VII. ATONEMENT IN THE TEACHING OF JESUS (Continued)

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So far we have drawn our evidence concerning the teaching of Jesus from the Synoptic Gospels only. Were there any marked difference between this report of Jesus' teaching and that which appears in the Fourth Gospel it would be necessary to inquire which of them is to be accepted as giving the more accurate account of Iesus' thought. We are released from this necessity by the fact that the difference between the two records, so far as concerns our present subject, is mainly one of form rather than of substance. The Fourth Gospel is undoubtedly much more affected in the presentation of Jesus' teaching by a desire to adapt it to the needs of the readers of the book than is the case with the Synoptic Gospels. In accordance with this general tendency the doctrine of sin is presented in a much more abstract form than in the Synoptic Gospels. Instead of sins, concrete deeds, such as fornication, theft, dishonoring of parents, and the like, this gospel speaks of sin, of which the center and heart is rejection of truth, pre-eminently manifest in the rejection of Jesus, who is the Truth and the Sent of God. But fundamentally the doctrine is the same that is contained in the Synoptic Gospels, only adapted in form of presentation to a more philosophical type of mind than that for which the Synoptic Gospels were written.

As respects temple sacrifice, there is even less difference between John and the synoptists. The attitude of Jesus is entirely the same and the form of presentation differs but little. Here as there Jesus distinctly recognizes the temporariness and intrinsic valuelessness of sacrifice. They that worship God must worship him in spirit and in truth, and neither Jerusalem nor Gerizim are to abide as places specially devoted to and suitable for worship.

See Biblical World for June, 1908, pp. 420 ff.

As concerns the conditions of forgiveness, the situation is much the same as in respect to sin. The doctrine is fundamentally the same, but the form of presentation widely different. But in this case the form is so different and so related to the teaching concerning the death of Jesus that we must pause for a little fuller consideration of it.

The central thought of Jesus as it is given to us in the Fourth Gospel is expressed in the word "life" (10:10; 5:40; 17:3). Defined in the broadest sense, in which the word is used in this gospel, life is the existence of a moral being according to the true ideal of such existence. Of life thus broadly defined God is the original possessor and ultimate source: "The Father hath life in himself." Other moral beings possess life through participation in the life of God. i. e., through fellowship with him. "This is life eternal to know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Life in this sense is something more than existence. It does not come by birth or heredity. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; that which is born of the Spirit is spirit," and without such birth from the Spirit one cannot enter the kingdom of God. Moreover, sin separates men from God and creates the need of a new moral force to give true life. The slave of sin has no abiding place in the Father's house, does not live in fellowship with him. It is this universal need that gives occasion to the mission of Jesus. am come that they may have life." "As the Father hath life in himself even so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself." This life it is his mission to impart to others. The water that he gives is a fountain of life springing up unto eternal life. He is the bread of life, and he that eats his flesh and drinks his blood, even he that believes on him, has eternal life. To believe on Jesus is to accept him as the Christ, the representative of God, one with him in thought and in action; it is to accept his leadership and to enter into the divine way of living by entering into Jesus' way of living. It is to form a moral partnership with Jesus and thus, because he truly represents God, to come into fellowship with God. But even this statement, effective for practical purposes as it is, calls still for a definition of this life in moral terms. What is the central principle of that life which is reproduced in us through our fellowship with

Jesus? The answer is twofold, though the principle is really simple and single. The controlling principle of the life of the Son is to do the Father's will. And the Father's will is that the Son shall give his life for men. Obedience to the Father's will, service to men: these are the two sides of the one controlling principle. To live thus is to fulfil the ideal of moral life; this is to be at one with God.

The problem of atonement is therefore the problem of producing such life in men who now by reason of sin are out of harmony with God, in darkness and death. As in the synoptic version of Jesus' teaching therefore, the problem is an ethical one, and the conditions are moral; not arbitrary or artificial but such as the very nature of the end to be achieved demands.

What then has the death of Jesus to do with atonement, with the bringing of men into fellowship with God? The passages may be considered more briefly than in the Synoptic Gospels.

As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth may in him have eternal life (John 3:14, 15).

I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: yea, and the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world (John 6:51).

I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep. Therefore, doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again (John 10:11, 15, 17, 18).

Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit. He that loveth his life loseth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be; if any man serve me, him will the Father honor. Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name. There came therefore a voice out of heaven, saying, I have both glorified it and will glorify it again (John 12:24-28).

And I, if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto myself (John 12:32).

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends (John 15:13).

Taken together, and in their several contexts, these passages testify to the following as elements of Jesus' thought about his death: (a) It is a necessity of his mission and his Father's will for him. Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone. if it die it bringeth forth much fruit. (b) In itself death was abhorrent to him. He shrank from it, and went forward to it not with exultation, but under the propulsion of his resolute purpose to do his Father's will. For this purpose had he come to that hour. (c) He laid down his life, voluntarily, out of love to his fellow-men. that love his death was the supremest possible expression. Like a good shepherd he gave his life on behalf of the sheep. (d) In this act of love he was the object of God's approving love. "Therefore doth my Father love me because I lay down my life for the sheep." (e) The principle under which Jesus acted in giving his life for others is one that applies also to all who follow him. (f) Through his death, wherein he reveals most completely the principles of his own life, he will exert upon men a powerful attractive influence, winning them to a life like his own.

If now we ask for a more specific definition of the way in which his death was to effect the end for which he died, how by dying he effected deliverance for men, and like seed cast into the ground brought forth much fruit, the answer must be suggested mainly by John 6:51 and 12:24-32. There is indeed a question whether in the former passages Jesus is speaking expressly of his death. Certainly this is not the pre-eminent thought suggested by the passage. Neither before nor afterward in that discourse does he mention his death; nor does the language of vs. 51 unambiguously refer to death. The case stands much as with Mark 10:30; death is probably involved in Jesus' thought as a corollary of that which he has chiefly in mind. a necessary consequence for him of that devotion to the welfare of others of which he is expressly speaking but not itself the subject of discourse. What then does he mean by giving his flesh for the benefit of $(\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho)$ the world? Literal reference to his body the discourse itself repudiates as coarse and absurd (vs. 63). To eat his flesh and drink his blood is to enter into fellowship with him through faith in him, through the acceptance of his teaching and the partaking of his spirit. The words "I will give my flesh," then, can

refer only to an act which promotes faith in him and the reception of his spirit. In so far as death is involved it is in this aspect, as a revelatory act wherein his spirit is manifested and men are led into true spiritual fellowship with him. As in the Synoptic Gospels, so here death is the culminating act in his revelation of the spirit of self-sacrifice, the supreme act of self-devotion to the good of others, a devotion which men must share with him if they would be his disciples. It is involved in his mission because only through death can he fully accomplish his work, and adequately express his own self-devotion.

If there be any doubt respecting the intention of Jesus to intimate the application to his death of the moral principle which this passage teaches, there can be none in the case of 12:24 ff. Here Jesus clearly speaks of his death, clearly characterizes it as a necessary means to the achievement of his mission, and distinctly indicates that the principle by which he was governed must govern the disciples also. He is to be as seed cast into the ground from which shall spring up an abundant harvest of lives like his own. To draw back from death is to fail of the end of his life, because he should abide alone. It is only a change in form of speech, not in thought, when in vs. 32 Jesus affirms that if he be lifted up from the earth he will draw all men unto him. Self-sacrifice for the good of the world makes universal and powerful appeal to the latent nobility that is in all men.

If then we compare the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels with that in John, we find that they are in substantial agreement. Two elements of Jesus' thought about his death stand out distinctly in both: (r) His death is the result of two factors: the sin of the world, and his own loyal adherence to the principle of self-devotion to the interests of others; and (2) this principle is the true principle for all moral beings; all are bound to accept and obey it. What he did others ought to do. In so far as we fail to do it we fail to be truly his disciples. For it is not too much to say that Jesus did nothing, suffered nothing, that he did not ask his followers to do and suffer in principle, and, if occasion require, in fact. His own life and death are in all respects the exemplification of principles which he maintained to be applicable to all men and which he desired

and expected his disciples to exemplify in their lives. He gave his life a sacrifice for sin in no sense in which he did not ask that we also give our lives in sacrifice.

To live in accordance with this principle is to obtain the divine approval. To live otherwise is to incur God's displeasure. Atonement is accomplished when men, abandoning their unloving way of life, turn with repentance to Jesus' way of life; forgiving as he forgave, loving as he loved. Apart from such repentance there is no forgiveness.

The supreme significance of the death of Jesus as of his life is in its revelation of the will of God, and consequently of the ideal of life. It is redemptive for those who accept the truth thus revealed. Men are reconciled to God when, accepting the revelation made in the life and death of Jesus, they enter into the fellowship of his death and become partakers of his life. This it is to eat his flesh and drink his blood. Thus he ransoms them from sin. Thus he brings them into covenant relation with God.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER XI. MUNICIPAL DUTIES: WEALTH INTERESTS

The supply of the material means of existence and of culture is fundamental, and social morality is here put to the most severe tests.

- r. There are certain old-fashioned industrial virtues which have been taught from ancient times by sages and moralists and which never in this world will be obsolete—the duty of useful work and of thrift. The idler and the spendthrift have always been recognized as pests. We do not wish to diminish respect and zeal for these very respectable virtues; but they are already honored sufficiently, at least with lip service and pen service, enforced by cold and hunger, and we are now occupied with duties which demand social organization of modern types and full co-operation of great communities. All pulpits and Sunday-school leaflets reiterate millions of times the duty of labor and saving, but they have hardly begun as yet to teach the nature of moral obligations which arise out of recent organizations of urban enterprises.
- 2. In the case of common wealth in cities it is not necessary to have actual ownership of desirable objects of certain kinds in order to enjoy them. Numerous examples may be cited. Thus all men walk on public pavements or ride on streets which are not controlled by any particular person. The rapidly extending areas devoted to parks are better than private grounds fenced in and burdened with interest and taxes. In each school district is a public building with its grounds owned and kept in good condition by the city, while teachers and janitors serve rich and poor alike. The city hall, the courts of justice, the public library, are common wealth; they are not ostentatious marks of selfish distinction which set apart a rich person from his kind and awaken envy, but they minister to the needs of all.

Men complain that taxation becomes heavier every decade, and

this is true. It is unfortunate when the money thus collected is stolen by "grafters" or squandered by inefficient officials. But such waste is not necessary and will not occur when more men and women apply their consciences and intelligence to the accounts of municipal officers. But in spite of abuses urban communities are acquiring enormous amounts of this community wealth.

There is much common wealth which is nominally owned by private associations but actually used by the public. Thus millions of dollars are pouring into the endowments of universities, colleges, art museums, scientific museums, libraries, orchestra halls, music halls, settlements, old people's homes, day nurseries, summer vacation colonies and camps for city children and their weary mothers, hospitals and asylums of all kinds.

Property held by churches is usually freely open to the public and its ministries are given without price to those who cannot or will not pay for them, although some of them are too much like private clubs of pew-holders who desire to travel to heaven in private cars. More than all other buildings, a church should be treated as common property, and it is freed from taxation on this ground. A church whose doors are not open freely and frequently is morally bound to pay taxes; and in addition, to be honest, it should cease to pretend to be a Christian church; it uses the name of Christ in vain; it is lying.

Thus in many ways our cities are coming rapidly into possession of a vast amount of material wealth which is at the service of all citizens, rich and poor. The tendency to increase this desirable social possession may be promoted by teaching rich men that investment in goods accessible to all is morally better than what they spend in personal luxury; and this lesson may properly be enforced by taxation on the basis of personal expenditures. It is true that the power to tax may be abused, may so burden and cripple industry as to reduce the sum of wealth annually produced. The rich man who invests his money in business and directs useful production is serving his country as truly as when he gives liberally to libraries, colleges, and museums of art. The annual appropriation of private income for public uses has strict limits, and this is expressed in the old adage that it is poor policy to "kill the goose which lays golden eggs."

Taxation on the visible and ostentatious expenditures of wealthy persons would not discourage production so much as our present methods of taxation. Mr. Andrew Carnegie recommends a rather steep inheritance tax and enforces his view with the hint that a city or state should not hinder the bees while they are at work but take a good share of the honey when the hive is full.

- 3. Taxation is the method by which private property is devoted to immediate or permanent social uses. We have elsewhere shown that present methods of taxation in cities are a direct incentive to fraud, inequality of burdens, and injustice. Radical reformation is called for by social ethics.
- 4. The care of health is an economic duty. The vigor, efficiency, and productive power of the working people depend primarily on their freedom from disease and the favorable physical conditions of home, street, shop, and work-place. These favorable conditions cannot be secured without intelligent city government supported by the public will instructed in the laws of hygiene. Here we see and appreciate the vital connection of health and economic welfare with the courses of study in public schools, night schools, and popular lecture courses. We may cite a few sentences in illustration from the "Public Health Catechism" of the American Health League:

Because of the deplorable ignorance and indifference of the general public on health problems, which permits the ravages of preventable disease and the misery arising from unhygienic methods of living, protection is necessary. It has been estimated that the waste from sickness and death amounts in dollars alone to more than \$3,000,000,000 annually, of which a large amount—over one billion dollars—is undoubtedly preventable.

Several diseases have either been extinguished or reduced to small proportions: as leprosy, by isolating patients; small-pox, by vaccination; scurvy, by supplying sailors with lime juice; yellow fever, by quarantine; diphtheria, by antitoxin; typhoid fever, by public water filters and other means; tuberculosis, by sanatoria, anti-spitting ordinances, and education of the public. The statistics of mortality show progress through science and general education and improved sanitary arrangements. In London in the seventeenth century the

- This subject receives special discussion in another chapter.
- ² Other publications may be had from the office of the League, 69 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

death rate averaged 80 per thousand, as against 24 today. In the eighteenth century the death rate in Boston was 37 per thousand as against 25 today. In New York, when Colonel Waring kept the streets clean in 1896, the death rate was 21½; in the previous decade it averaged 25, the minimum being 23. Since 1896 it has risen. The introduction of a water filter in the town of Lawrence, Mass., in 1893, was followed by a reduction in deaths from typhoid to one-sixth the previous number. The death rate from tuberculosis has been reduced in fifteen years to less than two-thirds its former amount in many localities.

The same catechism shows that much remains to be done. Tuber-culosis could be exterminated in a comparatively short time if the public could be prevented from spitting out infection, and induced to live and sleep with proper ventilation. Trichinotic and ptomaine poisoning could be escaped by avoiding the use of diseased meat from our slaughter-houses. Typhoid fever could practically be abolished by improving our milk and water supplies and the prevention of the pollution of our rivers. Alcoholism and the other evils of intemperance are avoidable by temperance; sexual diseases, by improvement in social hygiene; heart and kidney diseases, by adopting the "simple life." Experiments with nine healthy students showed that by dietetic care and mastication alone, muscular endurance could be doubled in less than half a year.

These are some of the facts which determine the duty of each city to systematize the campaign for increasing economic power through improving the knowledge and conduct of the people in regard to health.

5. Efficient and thrifty city administration. Corrupt, venal, and stupid administration takes the earnings of a hard-working population, wastes them, steals them, enriches schemers at the expense of the people, and finally gives little service for excessive expenditures. Every young man and woman of education should give all possible study and attention to the city-hall servants of the public; should try to learn what are the legal duties and powers of their elected officers and what they accomplish.³ Vague general charges do no

³ See W. H. Allen, *Efficient Democracy*, for arguments and devices. The Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City is a recent organization of private citizens, with expert accountants and lawyers for advisers, who are determined to discover and correct abuses in various departments of urban administration.

good and are very apt to be ignorant and unjust; for even as it is city officials usually render valuable service. To reward and punish with discrimination and effect we must find out and publish exactly what every form of service costs and what it accomplishes, and the precise persons who are responsible for success or failure. A false charge is met with resentment and a true charge not proved destroys the influence of the man who accuses the public officer.

6. Public utilities. Wherever there is reasonable prospect of profits private interest will find capital and organize a business.4 There is no necessity of setting the ponderous machinery of city government to work wherever any considerable number of persons offer money, on profitable terms, for the supply of the satisfactions they crave, whether it be houses, food, water, pictures, songs, dramas, books, temples, railways, aeroplanes, lighting, luxuries, or even vicious indulgence. Competitors can always be found, those who for mercenary motives will offer their services, no matter how degraded the office. Money will buy anything of someone; and in fact companies of men will fight, secretly or openly, buy votes, and bribe senates or courts, if possible, for the chance of catering to the lowest appetites of mankind. Therefore we might leave lucrative trades to ordinary commercial motives. But from all this we cannot conclude that the city government should always refrain from attempting to deal with the questions of supply of services and material goods.

In the first place some of the material needs of the inhabitants of cities cannot be supplied in a way which will bring profits to private contractors. For example, in every urban community sewage and garbage must be removed and dust laid or prevented; and since these processes do not offer a profit, the people must require the service of its government, although even here contractors may sometimes be employed. The motive of profit will bring organized capital into lively action, but that motive cannot be relied on to protect the public against dishonest, avaricious, and unscrupulous contractors. Hence the necessity of supervising, regulating, and controlling the firms or companies which furnish transportation, gas, water, or light to a city. In connection with its own agencies of police, fire department, public schools, and libraries a city government must transact business on a large scale, as also in the supply

⁴ T. Veblen, Theory of Business Enterprise.

of fuel, lights, vehicles, care of buildings and parks. City administration cannot escape financial transactions.

Many political writers and even practical men of affairs go much farther and advocate a great extension of municipal activities in connection with public utilities and monopolies. Thus there cannot conveniently and economically exist in the same territory two water companies, two gas companies, and an indefinite number of electric-lighting and telephone companies; for each will tear up the streets, hinder traffic, lay out expense for which consumers must pay, and finally annoy the public by their duplication and conflicts of systems. Since there cannot be more than one system of public utilities in the same area, that system is necessarily a monopoly, and, in the absence of competition or regulation, will charge consumers all they will endure and continue to buy the service or commodity on a profitable scale. The business motive is profits, not public service or philanthropy.

Out of this situation has arisen a controversy in Europe and America which has grown exceedingly bitter and partisan, so that even the most intelligent and honest students find it difficult to get at the facts. All we can here attempt is to open the subject and give references to works which seem worthy of consideration. As every voter is called on in some way to pass judgment on this controversy, it is his duty to make his voting power felt with as full knowledge and as sober a mind as he can command. It is evident that some forms of public utilities are more easily managed by city officials than others, because they are more simple, regular, and certain. For example, a city administration can conduct water works fairly well and yet fail in directing the more complicated machinery of street railways.

The student may exercise his moral judgment by impartially weighing the arguments for the two policies in controversy. The general considerations urged in favor of the private ownership and management of such public utilities as lighting and transportation are such as these: Public ownership and administration are more expensive, because private business managers are more alert, skilful, active, and economical than public officials, especially where, as in American cities, the officials so generally secure their places through party influences rather than by special fitness and training. The

directors of profit-seeking enterprises, having their own investments at stake, will not tolerate waste, indolence, and neglect, where public officials are frequently careless and easy-going with employees who have votes to consider. It is also claimed that the administrators of public works are slow to introduce new inventions while private managers are quick to avail themselves of the best devices. Again it is asserted that public ownership tends to introduce socialism and thus to suppress the energy and initiative of private enterprise. It is further asserted that when a city government conducts a business at a loss it can compel taxpayers to make good this loss; and this means that the losing business is partly supported at the expense of wellmanaged and profitable private business. Thus there is an annual deficit in the United States Postal Department, much larger than is generally known or published, since in accounts nothing is said of interest on buildings; and this deficit must be met out of the income of persons engaged in agriculture, transportation, manufactures, and other employments. It is also affirmed, with much evidence, that the accounts of municipal bureaus are often so confused and juggled that taxpavers never can find out how much the loss really is.

On the other hand, we must consider arguments in favor of enlarging the economic activities of city governments. It is asserted that the people of a city ought to be supplied with objects of universal utility, necessities of life, without dependence on monopolies, at bare cost, without paying profits to private parties. It is said that the employees of a city will be more humanely treated and better paid, will have shorter hours and less intense and exhausting labor, than if they are controlled by private corporations. It is said that we shall get better government when the cities undertake great enterprises and make it an object for capable and ambitious business men to seek the responsibilities of the public service.

If private ownership and management of public utilities is the system chosen by a city, there are certain interests which must be guarded in some legal way. In making contracts or granting franchises the city government should protect consumers from exorbitant prices and defective service, and should make regulations which will protect the employees of the companies from abuse and injury.

It must never be forgotten that public funds are not unlimited;

that there is no source of means for parks, schools, playgrounds, fine buildings, except the product of industry and business; that cost must be considered; and that the most severe sacrifices must be borne by the smaller taxpayers in the form of higher rent for houses and greater cost of food and clothing. Every common laborer pays taxes on the necessities of life, even if he does not know it, and he pays taxes just where they hurt most.

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THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE FIGURE OF SAMSON A MEDITATION ON JUDGES 15:13-15

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How wide a range of sympathy is demanded from those who hold the Bible sacred! How motley a company is that of the heroes of the Lord! Saul lying naked on the earth, David dancing before the ark, Jael with the tent-pin in her hand, Gideon with the pitcher and the lamps. Jacob with his craft and guile. Abraham binding his son on the carefully heaped wood to burn him; and gladly following them, Amos the righteous, Hosea the loving, Isaiah the creator of faith, Jeremiah the martyr, Judas the Maccabee, Jesus, and Paul. Religion may be a parlor affair, indulged in by the scrupulously correct and the over-refined; it may be the attempt of bigots to force the widehearted into a stereotyped and artificial living; it may stunt and warp and narrow humanity. But the religion of the Bible, if it be indeed the religion of the whole Bible, is not a manufactured product and is not meant for a lady's boudoir. To appreciate it, we must live in the desert as well as in the sitting-room, with savages as well as psalmists. Our religion is not a creation of students or of merchants or of ministers or of society women or of well-bred folk; it is not intended for men divided into classes or divided into civilizations or centuries; our religion is for man wherever he is found, it is a creation of all sorts and conditions of men; it does not depend upon customs, upon passing systems of thought; the soil from which it sprang is not even a code of morality so fundamental and sublime as the Ten Commandments; religion, our Bible religion, is the result of the holiest aspirations of thousands of generations, their most splendid deeds, their strongest passions, as they have touched each other and mingled with each other in the growing consciousness of the The Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon Paul and he dictated the thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon Samson and the ropes upon his arms became as flax and he found a new jaw-bone of an ass and smote a thousand men therewith. I rejoice in the presence of Samson in our Bible; he forbids us to forget the pit from which we have been dug; his presence alone redeems us from thinking that religion is a product of culture; he gives us an unanswerable argument in the presence of an anxious mother who thinks her son ruined forever because he has smoked a cigarette or played a game of pool; to read his story intelligently and sympathetically has the same influence on a man's spirit as years of travel; one is forced to distinguish between fundamentals and incidentals of manhood; as we see him on the hill-top with the jaw-bone of the ass piling up the bodies of his enemies, as we see him pray to his God to bring down a gaping crowd of Philistines in their circus, we must all of us see the vision Peter saw upon the hill-top at Joppa, and hear a voice saying: "What God hath cleansed, call thou not common nor unclean."

For Samson was a man of power who recognized, as all men of power recognize, that his power was a gift. He did not know anything about the Ten Commandments, though he never proved false to his people nor his God; his love was coarse, sensual, brutish; his rage was fierce; his heart was savage; he killed Philistines to pay a bet, though it is to be noted that he paid it; he did not care how frightful was the anguish of the foxes turned tail to tail with a firebrand between, so long as the standing corn of the Philistines was consumed; he did not care anything about breaking his own back either, provided he could slay the lords of the Philistines; the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would have seemed to him as much of a joke as some of his exploits do to us; he was a monster.

It is a sad commentary on our temper that we should associate with a monster something inhuman and damnable. It shows how little we essentially are. Samson was a monster; that is the secret of his power over us and over all children who have not been denuded of their primary impulses by the conventions; and like most monsters he was a religious man. There he towers over the ages on the dim edge of history with his jaw-bone in his hand, his enemies at his feet, and in his heart a feeling that is strangely like humility. A huge man, but not desiring to wipe out the sky above him; a huge man who knelt before the crude image in spite of his strength he

could never have broken; a huge man, but carrying his God so thoroughly into all his life that his own hair was sacred as his dwelling-place. Crude? oh yes, very crude; but I wonder what he would say of us; I wonder if he would call us small, even after he knew us; it seems to me that I should rather be crude. It is no sign of manhood to find fault with Samson or any other man for not wearing the habit of civilization.

Samson is probably the most ancient of the heroes over whom this immortal phrase is written in our Bible, "The Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him." That was an age which saw the divinity of power; here was a power so great that it threw its possessor on his knees: it was also an age in which power was fashioning its own limitations which, like rails, increase efficiency by confining it; here was a power which moved in unconscious but quite clear limitations. When in all this apparently lawless career did Samson ever use his strength unprovoked? The lion had to attack him before he slew it; he had to be betrayed by friends he trusted before the cornfields were burned; the hypocritical wiles of a woman were responsible for the revenge he took at his tremendous death. No morality? Not our morality. Should we not have more right to condemn Samson if we were as true to our standards as he to his? Do we not jump our rails more often than the old heroes, unburnished though they were? I wonder if that determines the infrequency with which the Spirit of the Lord comes mightily upon us.

But this only by the way; power forges its own weapons somehow, but weapons are commoner than power. The sacred writer did not emphasize the morality of Samson; such as it was it was taken for granted; it was his might that made him what he was; it was the strength of his might that made him sure, as it had made Samson himself sure, that the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him. Whatever else the Spirit of the Lord is, historically at least the first thing is that it is a spirit of power. No man may have it without being aware of that. Nor is it accidental that the Spirit of God is first conceived as a spirit of power. Creation must precede all else—development, analysis, refinement. And for creation we must needs have power. Nor is it accidental that the old Hebrew writer should have thought of the Spirit of God as a spirit of power. For if the

Old Testament has one characteristic more than another, it is that it is a book of power. It is noteworthy that the first thing of which it treats is creation, as though by instinct choosing first of all to worship a God of power; it is also noteworthy that it worshiped a God who was mighty enough to create the world in six days. An evening and a morning were enough for him to create the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night; a sentence sufficed to add, "And he made the stars also." The same conception of might that we reach through immeasurable time the ancient Hebrew reached through a concentrated energy; it is absurdly false to say that religion cannot thrive with so vast a God as ours must be. A hero like Samson belongs to the God of the first chapter of Genesis.

But Samson is not the last of the biblical heroes; he is only a herald of greater ones. For when the book of power had finished with war-songs like Deborah's and narratives like that of Samson, it brought forth righteousness. And how did it bring it forth? By the gradual consensus of the opinions of little men about the welfare of society? By holding a general assembly of citizens and drawing up a constitution? By sending out questions to chosen philosophers and collecting their answers? No. The Spirit of God came mightily upon Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, as it had upon Samson. It worked in a different sphere but it worked with the same power. "The lion hath roared, who doth not tremble with fear? The Lord Jehovah hath spoken; who can but utter his message?" "The Lord took me from following the sheep and said unto me, Go prophesy to my people Israel." "In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord." "O Lord, thou hast enticed me and I was enticed; thou art stronger than I and hast prevailed." Such are the utterances of the men who brought forth righteousness. It was the creation of men of power who like Samson recognized that their power was a gift. They were not their own; therefore the world must be.

Had Samson ever known them, would he not have recognized their power and, bowing before them as stronger than he, would he not have thrown his useless jaw-bone to the rubbish-heap? And let the centuries roll on until the Man of Nazareth appears, who taketh away the sins of the world, and what was the impression that he made upon his companions? We give thanks only for his grace and com-

passion; but we read that they "gave thanks that God had given such power unto men." And as Paul thought of him, the great description that fell from him was, "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God." "To take away the sins of the world."— Think of the might in the man to whom such a mission could be ascribed! Where in all the pages of this great book can you find a more sovereign self-consciousness than in those words: "All things have been delivered unto me by my Father, and no man knoweth the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him"? Is it any wonder that almost in the words of the story of Samson we read: "And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee"? or that after the first words of his that Luke records we have this comment: "They were astonished at his doctrine for his word was with power"? Had Samson no kinship to him? None in the power of his life? None in the power of his death? Had Samson come to know Jesus, would not his death upon the cross have been revealed in its triumphant might to the man of whom it was written that the dead that he slew at his death were more than those that he slew in his life? The world has called Iesus a priest; he called himself a king.

Is not Dr. McGiffert right when he sees in Pentecost, not the descent of the Spirit, indeed, but the day when the disciples, recognizing the power of the Spirit, began to convert the world? To be a Christian in the old day meant to be full of the spirit of power; would that it meant it in ours! Can we conceive of the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians being written by a frequenter of afternoon teas? What is the meaning of that matchless burst of speech? It is often regarded as the renunciation of power; does it not say: "If I have all faith so as to remove mountains and have not love I am nothing"? Ah, but there follows: "Love suffereth long and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; love beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; love never faileth." The thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written by the man who knew that he had reached and named and shared the power that rules the world.

Is Samson then out of accord with the thirteenth of Corinthians, with the eighth of Romans, with the Sermon on the Mount, with the cross of Christ? No, he felt the power of God and gave expression to it as best he knew with a sense that the power was too great to be his. Only those that have used the power to higher purposes can condemn him; not those who have never longed for power at all. Are Nietzsche and Shaw and the modern worshipers of power out of accord with them? Yes, though to me Nietzsche seems like Samson come to life again, protesting against his banishment from the affection of the good. But why is it that they are not in accord with the thirteenth of Corinthians and the cross? Because they have failed to see in them the higher power that cheapens theirs.

I chanced recently upon these significant words of a modern German lawyer who has pronounced Christianity bankrupt:

The Message of Jesus was childlike and original, simple and great. Every sincere return to the person and spirit of Jesus of Nazareth leads to a height of living, to a depth of knowing, where churches cannot live. Our pious Christians would start did they perceive how free a man must think, if he is to be worthy of Jesus. What gives his words their immortal freshness is his deep insight into the life and being of man. There is something incomparable about them that belongs to the most precious treasures of humanity. Jesus was full of life, full of power, full of joy, alas! and his great fate led him to the consecration of death. The anti-Christ Nietzsche is nearer to the soul of Jesus than he dreamed.

These words come from a man who rejects Christianity. We need not fear the men of power. A modern Samson is bound at last to be drawn to worship Him who is conqueror of himself, of circumstances, of death, of the centuries that date themselves from him, of the spirit of humanity.

It is not ours to condemn Samson; it is ours to pray that the Spirit of God may work as powerfully in our lives as it did in his; it is ours, indeed, to worship love because in comparison with it brute force is weak; but it is ours to know that the Spirit of God accomplishes results; that it does not return the soul or the hands of the man who possesses it to God empty; that it is given us to work miracles with; that by it we are to overcome the world.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

III. ITS CONTENT, ARRANGEMENT, AND SOURCES OF MATERIAL^x

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In the collection of primitive Christian writings that we call the New Testament there is one dramatic work. The Apocalypse of John is full of scenery and action. It has the qualities and the intention of drama. Not that it was composed for the stage, for neither Jews nor primitive Christians made use of the theater. But the apocalypses were spectacular in their presentation of ideas, and were designed to produce grand emotional effects. The Apocalypse of John could be staged, and would be most impressive.² The panorama of heavenly scenes, the majesty of the divine beings, the rapid succession of striking events, the ecstacy and adoration of observers, the glorious acts of redemption, the shouts of praise and paeans of victory, the high lights and splendid colors of the world-consummation, produce a literary composition whose chief aim is to thrill anxious hearts with hope, courage, and joy.

Some recent attempts have been made to print the text of the Apocalypse in stage arrangement, as though for modern rendition, in order that one may read it as he reads the plays of Shakspere or Ibsen. The success of this effort has been only partial, for our dramatic mechanism was not in the mind of the author of the book, nor was the actual staging of it intended. His idea did not go beyond the literary drama; the whole effect he expected to produce was to be reached through the imagination of the reader. Nevertheless, he

¹ The former articles of this series, "Jewish Apocalyptical Literature," and "The Thought, Style, and Method of Apocalyptic," appeared in the *Biblical World* for January and April of this year.

² Of course the features of the eschatological drama would seem to us grotesque, for it embodies conceptions of heaven and earth which do not belong to the twentieth century with its scientific world-view.

anticipated a very great effect. In the absence of histrionic art from his world, literary art stood first for the achievement of the author's purpose. And we shall understand the Apocalypse of John best when we read it as a dramatic production; when we allow it to engage our imaginations and emotions in a rhapsody of the triumph of heaven over the evils, miseries, and anxieties of earth.

In order to appreciate the book, it is not necessary for us to suppose that things will ultimately take place in just the manner described. Our interpretation of John's Apocalypse has usually been a literal one. We have assumed that it was a detailed and accurate disclosure of events that still lie in the future, events that are to finish the present age and inaugurate a new one. Perhaps that is a more artificial and extreme view than the author himself had of his visions and descriptions. In any case, we are no longer able to regard the book as predictive in this mechanical sense. Its contents are of the nature of imagery, its forecasts have the very general value of a confident trust that all will be well in God's world—that love, righteousness, peace, and bliss will come to prevail.

It is common now to speak of the Apocalypse as poetry. The term is appropriate as regards the substance of the book, but as regards its form the term does not at once convey the correct conception, since meter and rhyme are absent. The formal features of Hebrew poetry do not appear; nor was Jewish apocalyptic customarily written in poetic style. The Sibylline Oracles are an exception, due to the desire of their authors to imitate the style of the Greek Sibyllines. Dean Church called Dante's *Divina Commedia* "the first Christian poem," but it deserves this title only in the formal sense. The Apocalypse of John might better on the nature of its contents bear the designation, and it would be interesting to know in what respects and to what degree Dante was himself indebted to the New Testament drama of heaven and hell. Moulton4 designates the

³ But there was earlier Christian poetry than the Apocalypse of John. Not a little of Jesus' teaching was given in poetic form, as the Sermon on the Mount and other passages of the gospels show. Paul also contributed one of the most beautiful poems ever written—his praise of love in I Cor., chap. 13. A fragment of primitive Christian hymnology may be seen in I Tim. 3:16.

⁴ Modern Readers' Bible, single-volume edition, p. 1707.

Apocalypse a "rhapsody," a term which he applies as well to the vision portions of Isaiah, Joel, Amos, and Zechariah. All literary interpreters agree that the book is highly imaginative, giving vivid delineation to a glowing religious ideal. The production embodies the ardent hope of suffering Christianity, claiming vindication, relief, and reward at God's hands.

We may look for unity in the Apocalypse—unity of idea, unity of action, unity of presentation. Such a dramatic unity exists.⁵ The story is a connected whole, the story of the glorious redemption of the people of God. The scenes of this consummation succeed one another in relation, the movement is continuous, the development progresses to a logical and most impressive dénouement. The book is not a disjunct composite of miscellaneous pieces.⁶ It is not a Mosaic of Jewish and Christian apocalyptical fragments. The pattern is woven through from beginning to end. And this is true, even if some of the threads were drawn from earlier fabrics.

The Apocalypse of John is the work of a single author, who worked according to an elaborate plan, with remarkable literary skill, with great dramatic sense, with large imaginative resource, with consuming religious fervor, and with an exalted practical purpose. One may rightly compare this author and his work with the great Greek dramatists (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides) and their tragedies. Lofty religious principles and ideals were their themes also, great moral purposes moved them to write.

The contents of the Apocalypse are arranged as seven visions: (1) the Messages to the Seven Churches, (2) the Breaking of the Seven Seals, (3) the Sounding of the Seven Trumpets, (4) the Manifestation of the Seven Mystic Figures, (5) the Outpouring of the Seven Bowls, (6) the Triumph of Christ and the Final Judgment,

⁵ Dramatic unity is not quite synonymous with literary unity. There are some literary elements in the book that have not been completely assimilated to their new setting; but this feature can scarcely be regarded as interfering with the grand plan of the book.

⁶ As for instance the Ethiopic Book of Enoch is. It consists of five main portions juxtaposed, with a sixth portion (the Noachic Apocalypse) broken up and distributed through some of the other portions. The six separate parts were originally the productions of different authors at different dates.

(7) the New Earth and the New Jerusalem. A prologue and an epilogue complete the structure.⁷

⁷ The analysis of Moulton, op. cit., differs somewhat from the one here proposed. He too divides the Apocalypse into seven visions, as follows: (1) the Sealed Book and the Lamb; (2) the Power of Judgment; (3) the Seven Trumpets: Judgment Imperfect, and the Mystery of Prophecy; (4) Salvation: the Kingdom of the World becoming the Kingdom of Christ; (5) the Seven Golden Bowls: Judgment Consummated, and the Mystery of Babylon; (6) the Word of God and the Thrones of Judgment; (7) the Lamb's Bride and the New Jerusalem. "By a structure exactly analogous to that of Joel's rhapsody and in a less marked degree to that of Zion Redeemed in Isaiah, the fourth or central section is the foundation of all the others, the first three working toward it, the last three founded upon it." "The sevenfold prologue is partly involved in the vision of the Revelation, in the main outside it."

It seems to me preferable to understand the letters to the seven churches as the first great division of the Apocalypse; partly because the structure of the book is built on sevens, and chaps. 4–22 fall better into six than into seven additional visions; but still more because the letters are distinctly included within the apocalyptical content of the book by the long section, 1:9–20, which pictures the Heavenly Christ enthroned and giving to the seer these seven communications. Similarly Spitta and Bousset against Vischer, Völter, Pfleiderer, O. Holtzmann.

The analysis of Porter, in the Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers (pp. 179 f.), is as follows:

Superscription, 1:1-3. I. The Messages of Christ to his Churches, 1:4-3:22. 1. Introduction: Salutation, 1:4-6; Theme, 1:7; Attestation, 1:8. 2. The prophet's call, 1:9-20.
3. The seven messages, chaps. 2-3. II. Visions of the Future, chaps. 4-22. A. Introduction: Vision of God, by whom all is done, chap. 4.
 Vision of Christ, by whom all is known and revealed, chap. 5. B. First stages of the coming judgment, chaps. 6-9. Destructive powers seen at the opening of six seals, chap. 6.
 Salvation of the faithful, chap. 7. 2. Sarvation of the faithful, chap. 7.

a) The safety of the saints, 7:1-8.
b) Final blessedness of martyrs, 7:9-17.
3. Preliminary judgments; destroying one-third of earth and mankind at the sounding of six trumpets, chaps. 8, 9. C. Last stages of the judgment, chaps. 10-20. (I) Introduction: The prophet's new commission, chap. 10.
 New assurances, in old figures of the safety of saints and martyrs, 11:1-13. a) Safety of the true worshipers, 11:1-2.
b) Work and reward of martyrs, 11:3-13.
(II) The Overthrow of Rome and Satan, 11:14-20:15.
1. Introduction: Heavenly song, anticipating God's victory, 11:14-10.
2. The powers of evil: a. Satan, chap. 12; b. Rome and the imperial cultus, chap. 13.
3. The opposing host, Christ and the undefiled, 14:1-5. Last warnings to flee from the wrath to come, 14:6-20. 4. Last warmings to nee from the wrath of Cond., 14.0-20.

5. The judgments, chaps. 15-20.

a) Vision of the wrath of God, in seven bowls, chaps. 15-16.

b) Fall of Rome described in a figure, chap. 17.

c) Fall of Rome in prophecy, chap. 18.

d) Fall of Rome as the Victory of Christ in warfare with the beasts, 19:11-21. f) The fall of Satan, 20:1-10.
g) General resurrection and judgment, 20:11-15. D. The blessed Consummation. 1. The coming of God to dwell with men, 21:1-8.
2. The descent of the heavenly Jerusalem, 21:9—22:9.

Concluding warnings and promises, 22:10-21.

ANALYSIS OF THE APOCALYPSE

- I. CHAP. 1:1-8. PROLOGUE.
 - 1. 1:1-3. Superscription and authentication of the book.
 - 2. 1:4-8. Salutation to the seven Asian churches.
- II. CHAPS. 1:9—3:22. FIRST VISION. Preliminary. Christ's Messages to the Seven Churches of Asia, preparing them for the reception of the Revelation.
 - I. 1:9-20. The circumstances of the Revelation.
 - 2. 2:1-7. The message to the church at Ephesus.
 - 3. 2:8-II. The message to the church at Smyrna.
 - 4. 2:12-17. The message to the church at Pergamum.
 - 5. 2:18-29. The message to the church at Thyatira.
 - 6. 3:1-6. The message to the church at Sardis.
 - 7. 3:7-13. The message to the church at Philadelphia.
 - 8. 3:14-22. The message to the church at Laodicea.
- III. CHAPS. 4:1—8:1. SECOND VISION. The Breaking of the Seven Seals which bound the Book of the Future.
 - 1. 4:1-5:14. The preparation in heaven for the breaking of the Seals.
 - a) 4:1-11, God upon his throne, glorious and supreme, presents the Book.
 - b) 5:1-14, Christ receives the Book, he alone being accounted worthy to open it.
 - 6:I-I7. The breaking of the first six Seals, disclosing the promise and the precursors of Christ's victorious return.
 - a) 1, 2, the first Seal broken reveals invasion from Parthia.
 - b) 3, 4, the second Seal broken reveals war from Rome.
 - c) 5, 6, the third Seal broken reveals famine.
 - d) 7, 8, the fourth Seal broken reveals death and the grave.
 - e) 9-11, the fifth Seal broken reveals persecution and martyrdom of Christians.
 - f) 12-17, the sixth Seal broken reveals physical catastrophe antecedent to the judgment.
 - 3. 7:1-17. The preparation for the breaking of the seventh Seal.
 - a) 1-8, the mark of God set upon the elect of Israel, a sign of protection.
 - b) 9-17, the glorious assemblage of the redeemed in heaven.
 - 4. 8:1. The breaking of the seventh Seal, disclosing the second symbolic cycle.
- IV. CHAPS. 8:2—11:18. THIRD VISION. The Sounding of the Seven Trumpets, which evoke the seven great Plagues designed to turn the ungodly to repentance in preparation for the Lord's return.

- 1. 8:2-5. Preparatory offering of the prayers of the saints as incense before God.
- 2. 8:6-12. The sounding of the first four Trumpets, evoking the lesser woes.
 - a) 6, 7, the first Trumpet sounded evokes hail and fire.
 - b) 8, 9, the second Trumpet sounded evokes blood in the seas.
 - c) 10, 11, the third Trumpet sounded evokes bitterness in the living waters.
 - d) 12, the fourth Trumpet sounded evokes darkness.
- 3. 8:13—9:21. The sounding of the fifth and sixth Trumpets, evoking the first two great woes.
 - a) 8:13, awful annunciation of the three woes to come.
 - b) 9:1-11, the fifth Trumpet sounded evokes the tormenting locusts.
 - c) 9:12-21, the sixth Trumpet sounded evokes the host of demonriders.
- 4. 10:1—11:13. The preparation for the sounding of the last Trumpet.
 - a) 10:1-11, the seer is commanded not to disclose the mystery of the seventh Trumpet, which will bring the end and consummation of all things.
 - b) 11:1-13, assurance that the Christians shall come through the grand catastrophe unharmed and glorified.
- 11:14-18. The sounding of the seventh Trumpet, whose mystery is not disclosed except that it introduces the consummation and triumph of God.
- V. CHAPS. 11:19—14:20. FOURTH VISION. The Manifestation of the Seven Mystic Figures, which join in a conflict of error against truth.
 - 11:19. The temple of heaven is thrown open to disclose these mysteries.
 - 12:1-13:1a. The first three Mystic Figures, who join in deadly conflict.
 - a) 12:1, 2, the first Mystic Figure, the Sun-clothed Woman, symbolizing the ideal community of God's people.
 - b) 12:3, 4, the second Mystic Figure, the Great Red Dragon, symbolizing the hostile world-power of evil.
 - c) 12:5, 6, the third Mystic Figure, the Man Child, symbolizing the Messiah who is taken to heaven for protection.
 - d) 12:7-12, the conquest and expulsion from heaven of the Dragon (Satan) and his host.
 - e) 12:13-17, the conflict on earth between the Dragon (the host of evil) and the Woman (the host of God).
 - 3. 13:1-18. The fourth and fifth Mystic Figures, who assist the Dragon in his conflict.

- a) 1-10, the fourth Mystic Figure, the Beast from the Sea, symbolizing the Roman power.
- b) 11-18, the fifth Mystic Figure, the Beast from the Earth, symbolizing the priesthood that secures emperor worship.
- 4. 14: 1-20. The sixth and seventh Mystic Figures, who set themselves to withstand the Dragon.
 - a) 1-5, the sixth Mystic Figure, the Lamb on Mount Zion, symbolizing Christ the leader of the conquering host.
 - b) 6-13, three angels proclaim the final judgment, with its twofold issue.
 - c) 14-20, the seventh Mystic Figure, the Son of Man on the Cloud, symbolizing Christ who introduces the final judgment.
- VI. CHAPS. 15:1—19:10. FIFTH VISION. The Outpouring of the Seven Bowls, which discharge the final wrath of God on the ungodly.
 - 1. 15:1-8. The preparation for the outpouring of the Seven Bowls.
 - a) 1, announcement of the seven plagues, the final cycle of divine visitations.
 - b) 2-4, the song of triumph of those who had gained individual victories over the Beast.
 - c) 5-8, the procession from heaven of the seven angels with the Bowls of wrath.
 - 2. 16:1-21. The outpouring of the Seven Bowls.
 - a) 1, 2, the first Bowl discharges a pestilence.
 - b) 3, the second Bowl discharges blood into the sea.
 - c) 4-7, the third Bowl discharges blood into the fresh waters.
 - d) 8, 9, the fourth Bowl discharges scorching heat from the sun.
 - e) 10, 11, the fifth Bowl discharges darkness upon the ungodly world.
 - f) 12-16, the sixth Bowl discharges drouth, the Euphrates is dried up, and the demons gather for battle.
 - g) 17-21, the seventh Bowl discharges convulsions of the earth, alldestructive.
 - 3. 17:1—19:10. The paean of victory over the downfall of Rome, the heart of the evil world-power.
 - a) 17:1-18, the vanquished Babylon is exhibited and explained to the seer.
 - b) 18:1-24, the utter condemnation of Babylon, with the laments of the ungodly.
 - c) 19:1-10, the hosts of heaven celebrate the triumph of Christ over the evil world-power.
- VII. CHAPS. 19:11—20:15. SIXTH VISION. The Complete Triumph of Christ, and the Final Judgment.
 - 1. 19:11-21. Christ's conquest and overthrow of the Roman Emperor (the Beast) and his allies.

- 2. 20:1-3. The arch enemy Satan is bound for a season.
- 3. 20:4-6. The millennial reign of Christ with the risen saints.
- 4. 20:7-10. The final, complete victory of Christ over Satan and his host.
- 5. 20:11-15. The final judgment.
- VIII. CHAPS. 21:1-22:5. SEVENTH VISION. The New Heaven, the New Earth, and the New Jerusalem.
 - I. 2I:I-8. The holy city, the blessed abode of God and his people.
 - 2. 21:9-22:5. The seer's description of the New Jerusalem.
 - IX. CHAP. 22:6-21. EPILOGUE.
 - 1. 22:6-17. Assurances and warnings concerning this divine Revelation.
 - 2. 22:18, 19. Injunction that this book of prophecy be preserved inviolate.
 - 3. 22:20. Assurance of, and prayer for, the speedy coming of Christ.
 - 4. 22:21. Closing benediction.

One would like well to know the way or ways in which the author secured his material for this book. The traditional conception is that the entire book, contents and form, was a supernatural revelation to him, given him on some specific occasion and written down by him as the mere penman of the Heavenly Christ.⁸ This is taken to be the *prima facie* meaning of 1:1, 2, which reads:

The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to shew unto his servants, even the things which must shortly come to pass: and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John; who bore witness of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, even of all things that he saw.

The historical view of the origin of the New Testament books, however, is not satisfied with this interpretation. The miraculous production of biblical books—ideas, facts, words, all in a finished form—is not now regarded as a satisfactory account of their origin. As a mode of evaluating books, in a time when the historical facts of their origin were unknown, such an explanation is intelligible—perhaps excusable. But we have reason to think that there is much to tell in describing the origin of a book like the Apocalypse of John.

When one compares the material of this Apocalypse with the material of which previous apocalypses were composed, and particularly with the Book of Daniel and apocalyptical portions of other Old Testament books (Ezekiel, Joel, Zechariah, Isaiah), it becomes

⁸ In considering with a class the New Testament sources for ascertaining the Teaching of Jesus, one student wished to know whether we could not use the Book of Revelation equally with the Synoptic Gospels for this purpose.

evident that apocalyptical ideas, symbols, imagery, and language constituted a common stock of material from which the whole class of apocalyptical writers freely drew. Each writer in his turn, and according to his ability, contributed something additional to this common stock, at the same time that he revamped the older material for his new book. The successive authors of apocalyptic are not to be denied originality in thought, style, and method, but neither shall we fail to recognize that they made large use of kindred material which was available. Their method was reasonable enough. No one should complain of it. To generations that were indifferent to what we call plagiarism, old material that was repeated, retouched, expanded, freshly combined, and freighted with a message more or less new, had all the interest and value of original productions. Indeed, the interest and value might be much greater, inasmuch as the old material brought with it to the new message the sentiments, convictions, and sanctities of time. Symbols and phrases that have become classic in religious usage are the more precious and powerful in their repetition.

For this reason, probably, as well as because the apocalyptical genius did not generally run to *de novo* production, the writers of this type of literature freely possessed themselves of and employed the apocalyptical material that existed in their day. The author of the New Testament Apocalypse, being one of the latest writers of his class, found abundance of earlier material to his hand. He took what he found useful, wherever he found it, and made it serve his purpose.⁹ Of the 404 verses which compose the Apocalypse, 278 have ideas, words, and phrases found in the Old Testament. Of these, 46 are from Isaiah, 31 from Daniel, 29 from Ezekiel, 27 from the Psalms, and a lesser number from Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Joel, Zechariah.¹⁰ The Book of Daniel, in pro-

⁹ This may be readily seen if one will compare with the text of the Book of Revelation the Old Testament passages referred to in the margin of a Reference Bible, or the list as contained in the appendix to Westcott and Hort's New Testament in Greek, or best of all (because the Greek of both text and reference is given) the table given in Swete's Apocalypse of John, pp. cxxxv-cxlviii.

¹⁰ Swete, op. cit., who furnishes these figures (p. cxlviii) also says: "He lays under contribution each of the books of the Law, the Book of Judges, the four Books of Kingdoms, the Psalms, the Proverbs, the Song, the Book of Job, all the Major and seven of the Minor Prophets."

portion to its length, furnishes much the largest contribution to the Book of Revelation—the two great apocalypses, one Jewish, the other Jewish-Christian; three hundred years apart in date of composition, but most alike in content, spirit, point of view, and purpose.

But the author of the Apocalypse of John, although he made such extensive use of the Old Testament, was not a mere compiler of passages and phrases. He is scarcely to be thought of as searching through the rolls of the prophetical and other books, pen in hand, copying out for his book here a verse and there a phrase, afterward putting his excerpts together into a patchwork design. This notion of his method would probably be too deliberate, too literary, too mechanical for our author. Is it not more likely that before he came to the writing of his own Apocalypse, he should for many years have been most familiar with the books of this class, should have filled his mind with the classic apocalyptical ideas, symbols, and phrases, should have repeated them singly and in many combinations, with many Christian adaptations and applications, expanding them as he used them, and adding to them not a little of form, color, meaning, and direction out of his own apocalyptical genius?

He made much less use of Jewish apocalyptical literature outside of the Old Testament canon. There are numerous similarities in idea and expression to the Ethiopic Eroch; Charles¹² presents 26 such correspondences, including the seven spirits, the tree of life, the white clothing, the four living creatures about the throne, the angels of the winds, the intercessory angels, the burning of the unrighteous in the presence of the righteous, the horses walking in blood breastdeep, the book of life, the fiery abyss. The Slavonic Enoch¹³ furnishes some parallels, as do also the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Ezra, and the Sibylline Oracles. The author of the New Testament Apocalypse was quite surely acquainted

¹¹ Similarly Swete (p. cxlix): "There is not a single instance in which the Christian prophet of the Apocalypse has contented himself with a mere compilation or combination of Old Testament ideas. His handling of these materials is always original and independent, and he does not allow his Old Testament author to carry him a step beyond the point at which the guidance ceases to lend itself to the purpose of the book."

¹² Book of Enoch, pp. 43-45.

¹³ Morfill and Charles, Book of the Secrets of Enoch, p. xxiii. See also Swete, op. cit., p. xxi.

with these earlier books in the same field with his own, and they have been sources of his ideas and phraseology.

We must also take account of the fact that there was an apocalyptical tradition which did not take written form, but was in constant use and was handed down by oral transmission. The apocalyptical books presumably gave written record to much apocalyptic that arose in this widespread and appreciated body of tradition, directed and enlarged by many minds. And when these new elements had been given literary standing, they reacted upon the tradition, assuming a new position and influence in the current apocalyptic. The Apocalypse of John is no doubt greatly indebted to this common stock of apocalyptical tradition for ideas, symbols, terms, phrases, combinations, interpretations, and the like. The author was well acquainted with and much influenced by this oral apocalyptic, which the first Christians had taken over from Judaism and had made to serve their religious purposes. So he had not only Jewish apocalyptic, but Christian apocalyptic as well, from which he could draw materials for his book.

Some large pieces that he used, particularly in chaps. 11 and 12, were not assimilated in detail to their new location. While they were adjusted to serve the main purpose of the book, a number of specific terms and allusions were allowed to stand unadapted. These original elements have caused the interpreters of the Apocalypse much trouble, as a Christian significance for them could not properly be found. The two pieces in 11:1-2, 3-13, formerly constituted a portion of some Jewish apocalypse, and may have been connected with the Antichrist legend. The two pieces in 12:1-12, 13-17 were also derived from Jewish apocalyptic, and it has been argued by Gunkel that these contain elements taken from Babylonian mythology, and in particular the myth of the birth of the sun-god Marduk and of the persecution of Marduk by the Dragon Tiamat. In

¹⁴ So Bousset, in Encyc. Biblica, Vol. I, col. 209.
¹⁵ Schöpfung und Chaos, 1894.

¹⁶ Porter, op. cii., speaking of chap. 12, says: "The writer uses figures which he certainly did not create for the purpose, but borrowed and more or less adapted. If we could know where he found them, and to what extent he modified them, we should be able to solve the problem which the chapter presents. The Old Testament furnishes but slight analogy. There were, however, Babylonian and Egyptian and Greek sun-myths with which this material quite certainly stands in some relation. The whole picture has a cosmic range and an unmistakably mythological back-

these and other passages where the author of the New Testament Apocalypse has incorporated material from other sources it is sometimes necessary to recognize unassimilated features, and to distinguish their original signification apart from their present environment.

What, then, was the process of producing the Apocalypse of John? We cannot know certainly, but we may with some probability make the following conjectures: (1) that the author had a "vision," that is, an ecstatic religious experience filled with a consciousness of the divine presence and a divine communication;¹⁷ (2) that this vision confirmed his Christian conviction of the future triumph of God and the glorification of his saints which rings through the book and is the essence of his message; (3) that under the impulse of this vision he wrote, in order to convey to others the same assurance of impending divine redemption, a needed word of comfort and strength to the Christians in their severe trials from persecution; (4) that he made abundant use of the apocalyptical portions of Old Testament books, especially Daniel, out of a memory long charged with this material, for the purpose of Christian exhortation; (5) that he also had large possession of non-canonical apocalyptic, oral and written, from which he drew, shaping portions of it to convey the Christian message; (6) that the book thus projected and drafted was deliberately and carefully worked out, perhaps at successive sittings over a shorter or longer. period, until it reached the final stage in which we now have it.

The Apocalypse is a great work, in impulse and message, but also in construction and literary quality.

It remains to consider, in the closing article of this series, the time when the Apocalypse of John was written, for whom it was written, who was the author, what was his purpose in writing the book, what the chief ideas of the book are, the correct principles for its interpretation, and its present-day value.

ground. Changes have been freely made in the story to adapt it to Christian use, and it is not improbable that it was shaped by a Jewish hand first. We can be quite sure that we see here traditional materials that have gone through various modifications, even though we cannot retrace the process with confidence."

¹⁷ The "vision" is a well-recognized psychological phenomenon, attending high-wrought emotional states, particularly in the field of religion. Cf. Paul's visions at his conversion and at other times, II Cor. 12:1; Acts 9:10; 16:9, 10; 18:9; 26:19. This form of religious experience diminishes as the mental and moral content and control of experience increase.

THE HOMILETICAL WORTH OF THE STUDY OF HEBREW

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It is the purpose of this paper to show certain advantages which the study of Hebrew should give the preacher. There is no intent to maintain that this study is a necessity for every preacher, or that homiletic ability depends upon a knowledge of Hebrew. Courses in the science of homiletics itself will not produce homiletic ability. The preacher is born, not made. Certain studies, however, offer assistance in rendering his natural gifts more effective. The assistance which the study of Hebrew can give has been too little recognized. What, then, are the helps to homiletic efficiency which the study of Hebrew offers? In stating these advantages the attempt will be made to include only those which are practically unobtainable without the study of the language. There will remain advantages pertaining to large realms of Old Testament study which are reasonably well explored by the use of the English, though they would gain new value if approached by way of the original.

The first advantage belonging distinctly to the study of the language may be stated as the resulting development of personality. Thought leaders declare that the success of any movement hinges more upon the personality of its supporters than upon its own intrinsic excellence. Such a declaration gives increased importance to the so-called cultural studies and influences. For the man who is to sway other men there is great value in an acquaintance with a foreign language. Statesmen have long recognized this. The "detached viewpoint," the thought of "the people beyond the mountain," are sought by men of affairs. The thought of another race, the racial genius revealed in its speech, broadens any public man who grasps it. An acquaintance with the Semitic family of languages will bring conceptions new to the Aryan which he can hardly get from any language of his own family. The different verb structure, the force

of the various stems and tenses, the different meanings secured by changes in the very skeleton of a verb without auxiliaries, the uses of the infinitives, are new and instructive features. Then, with the nouns, there is the construct instead of the genitival relation, the curious building up of the nouns from the triliteral roots. The prepositions introduce new methods of thought connection. In many ways the student is impressed with the psychology of a people who could develop such a means of expression. If these unaccustomed features are viewed as phenomena of human interest instead of mere challenges for the exercise of the grammarian's ingenuity, they contribute to a new sweep of ideas, they give a new understanding of much of the Old Testament. Without some intelligent appreciation of the thought method of the Semites, the preacher finds the best commentaries on the Old Testament virtually locked against him. As a consequence he will either make the egregious mistake of ignoring. that Testament in his preaching, or he will discover that he is constantly groping to reach an understanding of matters which he might have grasped with far less labor if only a part of that labor had been put upon a brief earnest grapple directly with the Hebrew. More than one busy pastor has in later years taken up this course omitted from his earlier preparation. Hebrew is here put as the representative of all the Semitic languages because it offers their advantages with as few difficulties as any of the group would present, while, owing to its history and the contents of its literature, it is for the preacher the most valuable of them all. It was through the Hebrew that the great truths of the prophets were communicated to men. The messages were of necessity conditioned by the distinctive features of that language. Merely an antiquarian interest would demand study of the media through which the messages were disclosed. believer in a Providence which prepared the land of Palestine and developed the Greek language will see the same Providence at work through the "Semite genius for religion." He will believe that the Hebrew was providentially adapted to be the vehicle of those fundamental truths of ethical monotheism which Tesus taught as the basis of his universal gospel. If this be true, the preacher who would fully appreciate that gospel will not neglect either of the languages chosen for its transmission. This value of the language will necessarily be better apprehended when we have a more sympathetic literary and aesthetic study of Hebrew. We need to get over looking at a word as an indication of J, E, P, D, or one of their multitudinous subdivisions, to cease asking whether any suspicion of this or that period exhales from the outer garments of form or construction. We need to realize that these words throbbed with human feeling, that they helped men to see God and duty. It may be that we Hebrew teachers need more frequently to lay aside the dissecting instruments and look at the language with the admiring eye of the artist rather than the calculating eye of the surgeon.

He that a lamb for love doth keep, And not the butcher, knoweth sheep.

As a first great benefit from a right study of Hebrew may be put, then, a development of personality, the exact equal of which is not otherwise obtainable. This includes a broadening of intellectual horizon by accustoming the mind to new views and distinctions, also a deepening of sympathy as the emotional traits of another race are explored. It will include also a keener feeling for the importance of the contact of the Infinite with the human. It should mean that the man who experiences this development will have a larger humanity, and therefore be more receptive of things Divine.

The second profit arising from the study of Hebrew may be stated as a gain in precision and discrimination. Two great advantages from any language study are the gain in precision of termsnot merely in translation, but in one's own thinking—and the pictureforming power which comes from the novelty of a different expression for an idea that may be very familiar. Every studious public speaker gives much attention to his use of words. He prizes anything that will procure for him a new angle of vision upon the significance of a word or phrase. No one would claim that knowledge of a foreign language is indispensable to public speaking; yet speakers would agree that it aids nice discrimination and accurate statement. Further, they recognize that such knowledge often stimulates the imagination. Now the imagination is one of the greatest homiletic assets. Anything that arouses it to illuminative work is a new resource for the preacher. Here, again, the Hebrew exhibits some features not offered by other languages. The Greek and the Latin each had its

peculiar qualifications for the expression of particular lines of thought. The Hebrew, in its adaptability for voicing spiritual and religious truth, occupies a field of its own. Not only does it afford the imagination the vivifying influence of another language with its illuminative differences of viewpoint. It also has a unique connection with the fundamental truths of the religion which the Christian preacher is to present. Time will allow only a partial illustration of this assertion in the single case of the expression of ethical differences, though other instances might be equally profitable. Take, then, a glance at terms relating to human conduct. Because the Hebrew habitually associates distinctions of right and wrong with those between wisdom and its opposites, this view begins with terms relating to a man's wisdom or discretion.

There is the pethi, neither good nor bad, just wide open, simple. There is the khesil whose self-confidence prevents his seeing what is best, the pewil, whom Dr. Holmes later named "the squint-brained" man, who is twisted himself and sees every thing askew, the pasar lebh, whom we describe as "lacking," one whose moral sense is feeble or non-existent, the sākhāl who appears to be at once thick headed and pig headed. Over against such people is put the pākhām with perception and discretion, the nābhôn, with his intuitive good judgment which we call insight. As a man of discrimination this one is contrasted with the nābhāl, the surly ignoramus, and still farther is he removed from the lets, the scoffer who sets himself against all wise ways.

The wise, who possess lēbh, heart, mind, are of course associated with the ṭobh, good. The varieties of goodness are not few. The yāshār, the upright, is repeatedly commended, while the tsaddîq, the righteous, who does not deviate from the straight path, is to be had in everlasting remembrance. Evidently it was a compliment to an Israelite, as it now is to an American, to call him a "straight" man. Another phase of goodness is exhibited by the ḥāsîdh, the pious, godly, man, whose tender heart and loving acts witness his acquaintance with the God who is adored for his ḥésĕdh, tender mercy or loving kindness. The man of balance and poise who unites these good qualities is well described as tām or tāmīm, complete. This "perfect man" of our texts is no theoretical perfectionist who may

for a variety of reasons be a marked man, but an all-around, symmetrical man. It is characteristic of such men to seek in their conduct tsédhěq, righteousness, directness, as well as mishpāt, judgment, what conforms to the best sense of men, what is ethical; also to seek that which is bōr, clean from all defilement, that which is ṭāhôr, pure, of undimmed luster, that which is zakh, without fault, hence pure, unalloyed, that which is nāqî, innocent, free from guilt. The good man will long for the lēbh shālēm, perfect heart, or complete devotion which a few are said to have attained.

Opposed to the good man, tôbh, is the rặc, the evil man. is the most common and inclusive term for wickedness. have had an original idea of violence. Other terms are derivatives from hātā³, to sin by failing or missing, from pāshā^c, to sin by transgressing, breaking over, or trespassing against some one. The transgressor pôshē(ă) may often be characterized by merî, bitterness or rebellion. He is the man likely to be guilty of hāmās, violence or cruelty, to act arrogantly zûdh, or oppressively shādhadh. As opposed to truth 'eměth, that is firm and enduring, we find mirmā. the cleverly woven deceit, khāzabh, the cheating falsehood, shaw, the empty foolish falsehood, and sheqer, the "short and ugly" lie. With more idea of ceremonial purity, we have terms like tame, unclean, defiled, and for gross sins the expressive sheqets, abomination. Remembering how the Hebrew loved to use the figure of physical directness for moral good, it is interesting to see how he calls evil crooked and describes it with abundant synonyms. cAwon is perverseness. We translate "iniquity," but the English word has almost lost its picturesque power. The Hebrew presents the twisting, wriggling swaying of the evil-doer. It seized on words meaning to turn or to twist, and even made them into compounds whose reduplication must have supplied an element of grotesqueness or contempt. haphakhpakh (from haphakh, to turn) 'agalgal (from 'agal, to twist or zigzag), pethaltol, twined or plaited, bring before you the dodging, sinuous course of the wicked, the man who is described as ashēm, under penalty. Synonyms might be multiplied here, or other ideas might be unfolded with almost equal affluence of material. Enough, however, has been given to show the picturesque, imaginative Hebrew manner of presentation. One will not find in the

Hebrew the subtle metaphysical distinctions of the schoolmen, but he will find an abundance of warm, living imagery setting forth things fundamental in life. No preacher can read the Psalms or Job in the original, distinguishing the synonyms of these ideas of good and evil, without a stimulus to his own appreciation of moral values, without a quickening of his imagination which will mean more vivid portrayal of truth, more sympathetic appeal to human wills. Either of these results is of prime value to the preacher.

But someone will inquire, Why must our preacher read Hebrew to get these results? Can he not get them from translations? Only in part. Our English words have lost some of their force by familiarity; they fail to summon a picture as the original word may do. Not so well adapted at the outset for the portrayal of the moral distinctions, our English words become hackneyed till many of the words that should be potent have become mere cant. A leading writer and speaker on devotional subjects recently urged the constant study of the Psalms for the enrichment of the personal religious life, and counseled that those who could not read them in Hebrew should read them in French and German translations: or if no modern language was familiar, then let every possible English version be sought, because the unaccustomed words will so often give a view from a new angle that will reveal an unsuspected store of meaning; to quote his phrase, they "will puncture with vital suggestion the hardened familiarity of our thought and feeling." How much better to get back to the original for exact meanings rather than to rely on versions which are always marred by the inevitable inability of one language adequately to render the peculiar touches of another.

But eminent authorities have lately declared that no ordinary student can hope to make a translation that will surpass our present English versions. Let this be granted. The production of an English translation is a literary feat for which few are qualified. But give a bright man only a year's seminary course in Hebrew, and he will be going back of our best translations with satisfaction to his intellect and profit to his soul. The need of a better translation is urged alike by scholars and by literary critics who allege that no satisfactory English rendering of the Old Testament exists today. They charge that our versions are theological and technical, even

critical, rather than like the original in being warm with human passion, shot through with the insight and delicate sympathy of the authors. From another source, too, comes testimony to the inadequacy of the present translations. It is shown by the way that Hebrew teachers recommend to their classes the free use of all English translations, confident that none of them will prove a substitute for first-hand preparation, confident indeed that the use of the English will only convince the student the more of the advantage of immediate contact with the original. It is doubtful indeed if many advocates of the English versions can be found willing to go the length of saving that any existing translation does justice to the emotional qualities of the Hebrew, to those vital significances which ought to be most thoroughly grasped by one whose message is particularly concerned with life. These failures of the English are not due to mere lack of scholarship in the translators, but very largely to the essential characteristics of the two languages. The day of the translation that will do away with the study of the original is therefore very far distant.

So, in the second place, there may be asserted for the study of Hebrew a great value in its quickening of the ethical sense, in its breaking through our Anglo-Saxon habits of thought and expression, and rendering the heart and mind more responsive to the appeals of the spiritual life.

Closely akin to this is the presentation of models for the consideration of the preacher. His great point of attack is the will. Argument must be prominent in work that is to be characterized by endurance and strength, but it is not pure argument that moves the will. In the last analysis that is always the part of emotion. Upon the preacher's wisdom and ability in arousing and controlling emotion depends his success in swaying the wills of those to whom he ministers. The Hebrew is recognized as peculiarly the language of feeling, and its distinguishing qualities, as we have seen, almost defy translation into languages less adapted for such expression. Our English Old Testament furnishes many examples of noble handling of emotional expression, yet there is often a thrill and zest to the original that baffles the translators. This untranslatable element justifies the claim that the study of the original is a great advantage in the appre-

ciation of the models of emotional appeal. In this advantage is fairly included anything that in any way grips the feelings and so tends to move the will. To the formal appeals like the eighteenth of Ezekiel, or Judah's plea to Joseph, either of which loses much when Anglicized, must be added the multitude of short passages or single expressions where there lurks a power to tug on the heart strings which the English does not at all indicate. Take the language of penitent desire in the fifty-first psalm hĕrĕbh kabbesēní. How formal is the English "Wash me thoroughly!" A study of the various translations attempted will show that it has been the despair of the exegetes to get into English the longing here implied.

If time allowed, it would be interesting to cite instances where the great preachers have used this suggestive power of the Hebrew, instances like that where Spurgeon took hold of the words pôsechîm-cal shtê seippîm in Elijah's challenge, and brought out his consciencegripping sermon on the man who limps on both sides, lame in everything he attempts because of his indecision. But most of all, this power will be evidenced in the study of the Psalms, those wondrous lyrics into which have been poured the pathos and longing of the ages, those poetic voicings of the changeless tides of varied feeling which ebb and flow in the hearts of the nations as they yearn after God. Sometimes it seems as if the new light bursting from a single psalm was a reward for all the work of acquiring this relatively simple language. But it is asked, What is the gain for the minister selfishly to grasp these visions, if, as is alleged, they cannot be rendered into English and made accessible to his hearers? They can be rendered by the man of warm heart who is willing to dwell upon them and try one expression after another, to try to present them by a whole sweep of discourse and not by a single phrase. It is the single rendition that they defy. The ideas can be brought over by the man of heart and skill. Even if they could not, there would be great gain in such an agitation of the man's own emotional life that he should feel a constraint to utter his own experience. The man full to bursting is the man of power.

Still another advantage for the student of Hebrew may be stated as the inspirational gain arising from direct contact with the ancient vehicle of inspiration. We may drop all antiquated and mechanical doctrines of inspiration. There remains the fact that, call it what we will, these writings have conveyed a power pre-eminent in molding the lives of men for righteousness. A realization that there is no substitute for that power, and a new devotion to the book that transmits it are two of the pressing needs of our changing order. seems to be a common notion that the ministry of the future is to be more largely administrative, that the training to equip for it should be a training in methods and machinery. The hobbies of those who would reform our seminary curricula are sociology, philosophy, The study of man is dominant in the thought of these Doubtless the early church foresaw a practical ministry reformers. for the apostles, that they should become experts on famine and poor The Spirit spoke otherwise. Necessary as were duties of administration they did not constitute the might of the church. Prayer and the ministry of the word were to furnish the motive power. For these activities the time of the apostles must be free. And the growth of the church, yea, its very efficiency in the relief of poverty and suffering, came not from expert differentiation of charitable methods applicable to widows of antagonistic races; but from the preaching of Spirit-filled apostles who could bring persuasion of God to bear on the life intellectual and the life of everyday necessity. Above the cry that what was needed was men of sociological training to administer the affairs of the church on a reputable business basis rang the apostolic call for a life separated to the higher things of the spirit. So today we are beginning to hear above the passionate cry for the reinstatement of the social or economic ministry of the church a clear note of demand for a spiritual ministry that can grasp the truths of God and lav them close to all the needs of humanity. note shows the perception that what is requisite is not so much a keener knowledge of human need as a deeper knowledge of God. It is this experience of God and not any programme of human activity in alleviating distress that can transform life.

The notable opening article of the new *Harvard Review* brings one expression of this increasing conviction. This "Call to Theology" is no plea for mere intellectualism or scholasticism. Nor can such a description apply to the pleas from other communions for a ministry of power rather than of machinery. In essence they are all appeals

for a greater spirituality as preferable to a ministry of greater executive ability.

When it is queried how this increase of spirituality is to be obtained various answers are given. No method can supersede that by which the most spiritual of lives was nourished. The spiritual life of Jesus was fed upon the Scripture. Contact with that same Scripture has been the means by which the true seers of the ages have gained their power of insight and of help for humanity. The reverence for the mere book has been overdone. It is well that there is today such a revolt against bibliolatry; but there is no greater need in our time than the saturation of the Christian church with the spirit of the Book. Such an inspiriting will itself mean life put above form, life triumphant. For producing that life of power nothing can be more serviceable than the study of the men of old who felt the very breath of God in their souls, who saw deep into the things that are fundamental in all subsequent revelation.

In this study no one should underestimate any factor that brings out more clearly the exact flavor of the message, or brings one closer to the Spirit-filled men. Such a factor must be the language through which these messages came to the world. If it is worth our while to scan the history and literature of old for all that they can contribute to an understanding of the men of the spirit, it surely is worth while to grasp the methods of the language which so largely colored their utterances, to get the fresh impact of their thought, as it strikes upon the mind without the deadening cushion of familiar form or association.

Increasing importance attaches to the study of the prophets in an age which is just comprehending the social content of the gospel. The leaders in this movement for the larger application of Christianity do not hesitate to assert that in many ways the message of the Old Testament prophet comes closer to the need of our day than the message of the New Testament apostles. So far as the New Testament message concerns Christ, there can be no question of its superiority, though few have yet learned in how profound and spiritual a sense the Old Testament Scriptures testify of him and of his mission. When it comes to the application of the message, however, the prophet certainly has closer kinship in many respects to the work

of the preacher today. The apostle spoke to men under an alien rule. He counseled an attitude toward a tyrannical government. The prophet faced the men who made the government and unfolded their responsibilities. Our preachers face the men who make the government, and their message should be one of responsibility on every social and political question. For good or ill the day has passed when Christians were a persecuted folk for whom the best policy was to fear the king and consider that all government was of God. Only the moral shirk is today endeavoring to evade his share of the responsibility for what his country or city does. The enlightened Christian knows that only by blasphemous libel can many of these doings be charged to God. He knows that it is part of his business to dethrone the devil in the ward and city committee as well as in the future aeon, to see the throne of God established wherever Christian votes have influence instead of in some far-off millennium. There is one language in which are found the messages that ring truest as to God's will for social and political conditions. Ought the preacher today to slight that language, to hold back from his earnest hearers any advantage that it can give toward the fullest apprehension of the meaning of the rule of God on earth?

In the view of the writer of this paper, then, the Hebrew language is of profit to the preacher in its influence on his own life, in its effect on the content of his message, in its effect on the expression or delivery of that message, in the inspirational power which it has from its intimate association with the most spiritual messages given to the race. Advantages such as these the language offers to the man who can use them. They do not justify the claim that every minister must study Hebrew. God has other ways of speaking to some men than through language-study, natural as such study may seem for the discriminating mind. The writer would attempt no cast-iron rule. The paper states normal advantages for the normal man. Exceptional men should have exceptional training adapted to their exceptional gifts. General rules or plans should have regard to the generality of men. The paper is not a plea for specialists in Hebrew, nor that every minister should read Hebrew so many hours a day. Much nonsense is talked by excellent brethren who assume that

unless a man reads so much Hebrew every day, he loses all the good of his study of the language and proves that the time spent in that study was simply wasted. Few men not in scientific pursuits open textbooks on chemistry or physics after leaving college, but all their lives are richer and better lived for the touch of the scientific spirit, for the ability to understand scientific statements, to have a share in the great literature of science. So the plea here is that the Hebrew offers a contribution to life, an enlarged outlook, that justifies urging any man who is to be a leader in our churches to put himself in touch with this literature of religion, to equip himself at least to understand the writings of the great commentators on the Old Testament, to do this not that he may become dry and scholastic, but that through the enrichment of his personal life he may be a better minister of the life abundant.

At a recent great educational convention one speaker brilliantly protested against the tyranny of the backward third of a school class. He declared that instead of being eternally admonished to adapt his instruction to the minority of least ability, he wanted a course that considered the intellectual welfare of the upper two-thirds who for the most part were the men who were to count in after life. So far as this paper succeeds in gaining its purpose, it has in view the great mass of students for the ministry, not the men phenomenally unable to acquire a language, nor, at the other extreme, the brilliant linguist whose especial endowments enable him to gain especial profit from any language-study, but the mass of reasonably equipped, earnest, practical men. To such the study of Hebrew offers assured advantages, homiletically, and in practical personal development.

Current Opinion

The Study of Hebrew in Colleges and Seminaries.

At the recent meeting of the Baptist Theological Faculties' Union the teaching of Hebrew in the colleges and theological schools of the country was made the special subject of discussion. Professor W. R. Betteridge, of Rochester Theological Seminary, presented a report on the study of Hebrew in colleges and seminaries, from which we are permitted to extract the following statements.

As concerns the teaching of Hebrew in colleges it appears that not more than twenty-five or thirty men in the colleges of the country are doing Hebrew or Semitic languages otherwise than as a preparation for the ministry. Theological schools may be divided into three classes in respect to the requirement of Hebrew: Out of 100 schools from which reports have been obtained 17 made Hebrew entirely elective, and report a decline in the number of students taking Hebrew. Of the total 100, 20 permit graduation without Hebrew, but require Hebrew for degree honors. In this class there is a slight but noticeable decrease in the number of students who are taking Hebrew. Sixty-three, or nearly two-thirds of the whole number require Hebrew of all students pursuing a regular course. The number, of students varies of course according to the number in the school.

Professor Betteridge pointed out that these facts indicate a lessening of emphasis upon Hebrew, and a decrease of the number of students studying Hebrew. This decrease in attention paid to Hebrew is often, though not always, accompanied by a corresponding increase in the study of the Old Testament in English. He infers that it will probably be increasingly difficult to make Hebrew a prescribed study in all theological schools, and that it is increasingly important that the courses in Old Testament in English which are taking the place of courses in Hebrew shall be equally scientific and severe.

Justice or Brotherhood?

The April number of the *American Journal of Theology* contains an article by Professor J. H. Tufts on "The Church and Psychological Conditions." One of his positions seems open to question. In the midst of his illuminating discussion of the social mind he says:

It is sometimes said that the conception of brotherhood among men, growing out of the relation of divine fatherhood, would solve all our social and industrial

problems. This is open to serious doubt. Brotherhood does not place the emphasis where the present man wants it placed, or where the economic process naturally requires. Brotherhood stands for sympathy, for give and take without any careful reckoning of debit and credit, for loyalty and standing by in time of trouble. No one can question the need of all this in human society. But brotherhood does not most appropriately symbolize perfect fairness toward all men in relations where it is not sympathy but justice that is wanted. It does not suggest the guidance by reason rather than by emotion. It does not suggest the recognition of rights—that bulwark of personal worth which the modern man feels so strongly. The demand for social justice is becoming a dominant note in the moral consciousness of today. It is forced to its position by the very nature of the business and industrial world.

But does this statement fairly represent brotherhood as Christianity conceives it? It certainly is a very imperfect representation of the idea of brotherhood as some of us have found it in the teaching of Jesus. So far from excluding justice, brotherhood would seem to include it. It is very difficult to conceive of any satisfactory definition of the word which would not include the recognition of rights. But not so much "my" rights as the other man's rights. And this conception of the content of brotherhood seems to be recognized in socialism as truly as within the region of avowedly Christian writers. The fact that it is emotional certainly does not weaken it as a social force.

May it not be that Professor Tufts has confused the idea of getting justice with giving justice? Christianity certainly does not teach that a man should insist on his rights at the expense of someone else. It certainly does demand that he shall recognize other men's rights. And in this it has its own program for social regeneration. The search for rights lends itself to revolution. Education in social relationships along the line of fraternity leads invariably to the sacrifice of rights before one has been forced to yield them. A passion for granting justice is farthest possible from an unethical philanthropy that cares for the victims of reckless power without attempting to curb that power.

The point at issue is not mere logomachy. One would be ready to assent to Professor Tuft's characterization of brotherhood if brotherhood in the Christian sense be as he characterizes it. The really important question concerns the motive to be emphasized in today's life. If we understand the teaching of Jesus, Christianity is concerned far less with rights than with duties. It is true this sometimes seems an ineffective motive. It is always easier to stir a man to get than to give justice. But if the church is to preach that men are to insist upon their rights, it will be farthest possible

from an agent of social peace. From that point of view the life of Christ would be a very epitome of mistaken devotion. He should have put himself at the head of a revolution instead of dying rather than abandon his belief that love is a final force in the universe. If in the spirit of Jesus society will insist that men with an undue share of the good things of social evolution shall share their privileges with others; in other words, if it will develop the social idea of granting rather than getting justice, it will be a minister of social uplift. Symbolized in terms of human brotherhood through divine sonship it is difficult to see why such an appeal should not in the present, as in the past, be a social dynamic that shall include all Professor Tufts includes under the idea of justice, and, in addition, ground itself in an inspiring conception of man's relationship to the cosmic purpose that shall justify such justice.

A Call to Bible Study

Eight years ago a call, signed by two men, each of whom has since laid down his work here to take up the larger opportunities beyond this present life, was sent out to the ministers of this country and Canada. The call was one which asked for one sermon a year in the early autumn devoted to setting forth the claims of the Bible upon the time and energies of the Christian. The signers of this call were William Rainey Harper, the founder and leader of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, and John Henry Barrows, then president of the Council of Seventy, its advisory board.

It would be difficult to measure the effect of this call. Its plan of interesting people in the study of the Bible was so simple its emphasis of the school year as the legitimate Bible-study year so wise, that numerous organizations, in which Bible-study is a feature, adopted it, and at the present time the month of September is almost universally recognized as the time for the organization of Bible-study classes and the promotion of educational work along biblical lines in the church, the school, and the home.

The Institute has a record of five thousand sermons preached on this topic, and this number would probaby be multiplied many times if all the facts were known. But does this mean that the plan has accomplished its task and the day need be no longer observed? This question will hardly be answered in the negative if we consider the attitude which the church, and therefore each member of the church, is called upon to take today, toward the world and its needs.

We expect, first of all, that the church will give personal, spiritual uplift. A church full of people who are without ideals, who are wholly taken up with practical cares, who are spiritually unable to respond to any appeal to their higher nature, cannot be a strong church. The first step in such a church is to lift the members out of themselves and into a consciousness of God and the dignity of a life linked with his in spiritual communion.

How shall this sense of God and his attitude toward each aspiring heart be imparted? In no other way so effectively as by the study of the history through which the Christian conception of God came to the Hebrews and their successors. One cannot become acquainted at first hand with this history and fail to share in the wonderful idealism of prophet, priest, and sage which found its highest expression in Jesus.

The second function of the church today is the creation and further development of a Christian social consciousness. Never before in the history of the world has the idea of solidarity been so characteristic of the age as at present. Thousands who do not call themselves "Christians" have accepted as their ideal of life the essential Christian spirit, the ability to sacrifice their own interests for those of the many. The direct touch of God the Father upon the hearts of his children has awakened in many the motives which the church, with its limitations of creeds and sacraments, did not arouse. But it does not therefore follow that the great Book of the church has not the power to create and train this social consciousness which is springing into being. It was Iesus who amid social crime and the aristocracy of wealth and roval blood declared the brotherhood of man and the responsibility of each for the other and for the whole. He who knows Iesus best has the simplest, highest, and the most practical ideal of his own responsibility to society, and the only record of the earthly life of Iesus is found in the New Testament.

The third great obligation of the church to the world today is not a new one, but has recently received new emphasis and developed new aspects. It is the mission of Christianity as it relates itself to the world as a whole. Today is witnessing a new attitude among nations, an international intercourse friendly and close in relations of commerce and trade, respectful and inquiring in educational activities, at least tolerant and considerate in studious contemplation of the religions of the world. These new conditions make it more important than at any other time perhaps since the first century that the youth of the church shall have a broad and true conception of what Christianity really is, and come under the sway of the Spirit of Jesus, for to them we must look for the universal Christianity. Without these things we shall miss, as more than once in the past the church has missed, an immeasurable opportunity. But how can these things be achieved except through broad and intelligent study of the Bible?

Since it is clear that the live church and the live Christian must find in the facts and teachings of the Bible so great a source of inspiration, the leaders of the church will welcome, and co-operate with, every attempt to lay emphasis upon and direct attention to the study of the Bible. Bible-study Sunday is the expression of such an attempt.

The educational value of the plan may be clearly seen. It emphasizes the obligation of the pastor to his people as the natural director of their study; it gives the publicity which concerted action affords; it arouses good people who habitually and thoughtlessly read the Bible to a realization of their opportunity; it emphasizes the educational activities of the

church with its young people; it reassures those whose confidence in the growth of the influence of the Bible is waning; it makes the Bible at least temporarily a topic of popular conversation; it does all this at a time and in such a manner as to put the study of the Bible on at least an equal plane with all the other activities of the church which have their natural beginning in the autumn. To observe the day entails no difficult conditions; it gives great opportunity. No one denomination profits by it more than another, statistics showing that all alike are benefited.

Some years ago the ministers who registered their names at the head-quarters of the Institute as wishing to observe Bible-study Sunday received, in addition to suggestions for the program of the day, certain sermon outlines upon the theme—"Bible-Study and Its Relation to the Christian Life," prepared by several eminent preachers. The Institute will again this year offer to all who register their wish to co-operate a series of outlines by eminent scholars upon the subject of "The Duty of the American Citizen to Know the Bible." It is not expected that any minister will wish to adopt any one of these outlines in toto, but that the group will give the points of view of the differing mind and attitude of the men who have been selected to prepare them. It is expected that they will stimulate those who read them not to slavishly follow, but to reach out into new fields of argument and exposition, each one with his own people in mind and his own local conditions to meet, the great object being always to inspire more and more people to read and study the Bible systematically.

Will you co-operate-

- 1. By pledging yourself to observe the day?
- 2. By distributing copies of pledge cards and of the "Call" to ministers whom you may meet between now and September 10.
- 3. By aiding the Institute in spreading information in regard to the plan as widely as possible.
- 4. By keeping the day in your own mind and before your people in such a way that you and they will be prepared when the day comes to embrace with enthusiasm the opportunity to enter upon or to continue systematic Bible-study in one way or another.

Copies of this "Call" may be secured from the office of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill., in any quantity for distribution.

Work and Workers

It is reported that a trilingual inscription like the Rosetta Stone has been discovered by M. Clermont Ganneau in the vicinity of Assouan, Egypt, from which place so much valuable archaeological material has lately come.

Dr. Shirley J. Case, of Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Maine, has accepted an assistant professorship of New Testament Literature in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, entering upon his duties October 1, 1908.

EXCAVATIONS have been conducted at Samaria during the past season by Harvard University, under the direction of Professor Lyon, with Dr. G. Schumacher in immediate charge. Professor C. R. Brown is among those who have visited the camp and excavations of the expedition.

In the Royal Museum at Berlin there lies awaiting publication a papyrus containing about two-thirds of the Greek text of the Book of Genesis. The text of Genesis is almost entirely missing from the Vatican and Sinaitic codices, hence this text should be of much value for textual purposes.

REV. T. ALLAN HOBEN, Ph.D., has resigned the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Detroit, Mich., to become associate professor of Homiletics and pastoral duties in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Professor Hoben enters upon his new work July 23, 1908.

Mrs. Russell Sage has offered the American Bible Society \$500,000, on condition a like amount is secured by January 1, 1909, the whole to be invested as an endowment fund for this important work. Subscriptions should be made to the treasurer, Mr. William Foulke, Bible House, Astor Place, New York.

Professor Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., of the Congregational College, Montreal, Canada, has accepted a call to the Old Testament Chair in Auburn Theological Seminary, which has been held for thirty-seven years by Professor Willis J. Beecher, D.D. Professor Creelman enters upon his new professorship in the autumn.

At the recent commencement of Union Theological Seminary it was announced that Professor Francis Brown, of the department of Hebrew and the Old Testament, had been elected president of the seminary, to succeed the late Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall. Professor Brown's eminence

as a scholar and strong personal qualities make his appointment peculiarly fitting, as it will be gratifying to the many friends of Union Seminary.

Professor Ernest De Witt Burton, head of the New Testament department in the University of Chicago, and editor-in-chief of the *Biblical World*, is about to visit India, China, and Japan as educational commissioner of the University of Chicago, to investigate the educational needs and problems of the Orient, especially of China. Professor Burton will leave Chicago in July, 1908, and will devote at least a year to this investigation.

The fourth Oriental Travel Study Class organized by the University of Chicago will visit Egypt and Palestine in the winter and spring of 1909, under the leadership of Professor Ira M. Price. Sailing February 20, 1909, the party will first visit Egypt, ascending the Nile as far as the First Cataract, then proceed to Palestine, reaching Jerusalem for Easter. More than a month will be spent in the Holy Land, and returning by way of Constantinople and Athens to Naples, the class will disband there May 21, 1909. The arrangements are in the hands of H. W. Dunning & Co., 14 Beacon St., Boston.

Professor Carl Clemen, Ph.D., of the University of Bonn, will give courses on the Acts and the Gospel of Matthew at the University of Chicago during the Autumn Quarter of the present year. Professor Clemen is well known as a writer on the New Testament, and has published extensively during the past fifteen years. Among his works are Die Chronologie der paulinischer Brieje (1893); Die Einheitlichkeit der paulinischen Brieje (1894); Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde (1897); Ursprung des heiligen Abendwahls (1898); Niedergejahren zu den Toten (1900); Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode in der Theologie (1904); Paulus (1904); Schleiermachers Glaubenslehre (1905); Die Apostelgeschichte im Lichte der neueren Forschungen (1905). With his thorough knowledge of English, in which he has few equals among German theologians, Professor Clemen is admirably equipped to represent to American students modern German biblical scholarship of the best type.

Book Reviews

Mose. Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung über die Ursprünge der israelitischen Religion. Von Paul Volz. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1907. Pp. 115. M. 3.

What was the origin of the Israelitish religion? For some time past it has been thought that the answer to this question had been found. Israel began on a very low plane religiously, receiving at the time of the Exodus through Moses an impulse to a higher faith, from which it developed naturally and by slow stages, through the nomad religion and the peasant religion to the prophetic religion. It was the prophets who were the real authors of the lofty ethical monotheism which is the high-water mark of the Old Testament religion and the actual foundation of the religion of Jesus Christ. This answer to our question has been given most attractively and persuasively by Professor Marti in his recent book on the Religion of the Old Testament. Why it was possible for the Israelitish religion to make this remarkable development is still left unexplained, how-Indeed, Wellhausen, the great founder and leader of the modern school, in a passage which will probably become famous, makes a most candid confession of ignorance on precisely this point. After tracing briefly the course of the development of the religion of Israel, he says: "But even if we could trace the development more closely and more surely at the most only a very inadequate explanation would really be given. Why, for example, did not Chemosh in Moab become the god of righteousness and the creator of the heavens and the earth? A satisfactory answer to this question cannot be given."

As is well known, this answer to our question has been criticized and rejected in recent years by many men who have been adherents of the Wellhausen school and who have become dissatisfied with its conclusions. Mention might be made of Winckler, who has been attacking the Wellhausen school with great vigor in his numerous publications, and in his pamphlet, Religionsgeschichtler und geschichtlicher Orient, has given a detailed criticism of Marti's book already mentioned. And besides Winckler's work we have had the studies published by Gunkel and his associates and the significant volume by Baentsch, Altorientalischer und

¹ Wellhausen, J., *Die Christliche Religion*: mit Einschluss der israelitischjüdischen Religion, p. 11 ("Die Kultur der Gegenwart," I, 4).

irsaelitischer Monotheismus. And to this list must now be added the little volume by Paul Volz which forms the occasion for the present study. Volz is very modest in his title. He styles his essay, Moses, "a contribution to the investigation of the origins of the Israelitish religion." His book is a critical attempt to ascertain the exact position and work of Moses. He accepts the critical analysis of the documents of the Pentateuch and of the historical books, and he agrees with the majority of modern scholars as to the dates which are to be assigned to these documents. He also admits that we have no certain literary sources for the life and work of Moses; it cannot be claimed with any degree of conviction that Moses was the author of the Decalogue even in a rudimentary form. But with all this handicap he still affirms that it is possible to prove that Moses was the real founder of the worship of Yahweh as the one only God, a moral personality who was totally different in his character and requirements from all the other gods who were worshiped by the surrounding peoples. In other words, Volz claims that Moses was the founder of that lofty ethical monotheism which has been held to be the final religious achievement of the prophets of the eighth and following centuries. As he describes him, Moses once more assumes his place as at least the equal of the prophets of the eighth century. He enunciated the principles which they took up and applied to the new conditions of their own times; they built upon the sure foundation which he had laid down. He was a great creative personality who took a position far above the religious life and thought of his contemporaries and marked a distinct advance in the religious development, not of Israel alone, but of the whole race. His significance is to be found not so much in what he did as the organizer of a nation, but in his work as the founder of a religion.

It will be well to look for a moment at the method by which Volz attempts to defend his hypothesis. By his attitude toward the sources, he can use nothing but the same material which is used by other writers on the subject. He is dependent upon the preprophetic literature, that is, in the main, the prophetic documents of the Pentateuch and the ancient documents of the books of Judges and Samuel particularly. But he maintains that the prevailing critical theory has failed to do justice to these documents, partly through minimizing their statements in the interests of the theory, and partly by denying the authenticity of precisely those passages which breathe the lofty monotheistic spirit of the prophetic period. These passages are later additions made under the influence of the teaching of the later prophets, say many critics. No, says Volz, they are survivals in a hostile environment of the religious principles enun-

ciated by Moses. They prove that in spite of the tremendous temptation to degeneracy which assailed Israel, there still remained men in the nation who were true to the fundamental principles of the Mosaic religion and who sought to maintain these principles at all hazards. The exact nature of the struggle through which the nation passed and of the religious development of the period from Moses to Amos, Volz does not attempt to describe, for he uses his material in this essay simply to ascertain the character of the work of Moses.

The difference in the conclusions which are drawn from the same material by different investigators naturally indicates that there must be fundamental differences in the presuppositions with which they approach the subject. The picture of the early religion of Israel which has been drawn by the adherents of the prevalent school of interpretation has been made with the use of materials taken from the remnants of Arabic heathenism. But, in view of the results of the explorations in western Asia, it becomes increasingly difficult to believe that this Arabic heathenism is a reliable authority. Babylonian civilization and religion seem to have permeated western Asia including Canaan, and the religious development of Israel must have been largely influenced by this religious culture. Hence even as far back as the time of Moses the Israelites must have stood on a far higher plane religiously than is often supposed. At first sight it might seem as though this fact would leave little place for the work of Moses. At the most he would be only a mediator who led the people of Israel to adopt actively and consciously the religious principles which were present, as it were in solution, in the religious atmosphere. And this is really something like the nature of his work, according to Volz. The Israelites, or at least some of them, actually worshiped Yahweh before the time of Moses. It is not to be thought that the Yahweh before Moses and the Yahweh after Moses were wholly heterogeneous or that the religious experience of Moses signified a total break with the past. The pre-Mosaic Yahweh and the pre-Mosaic worship of Yahweh must have been distinguished from other gods and other cults by a loftier ethical character. But these tendencies to an ethical monotheism were all taken up and unified and strengthened by Moses who thus founded the true ethical monotheism of the Old Testament religion. His was the great creative personality of this early period. It has been the custom to find these creative personalities in the prophets, but Volz insists that their work cannot be explained without assuming as its antecedent an equally great creative personality in the earlier period and that personality was Moses.

But perhaps the most striking presupposition in these investigations

of Volz is his frank insistence upon the large place which must be assigned to revelation in all investigations into the origin of the Old Testament religion. He admits the value of the purely historico-religious method which treats the religion of Israel as one of the religions of the human race and which regards all religion from its human side simply, as one of the expressions and manifestations of the will and purpose of man. But this method is inadequate, for it overlooks the fact that all true religion is also and distinctly a revelation of the will and purpose of God. The ordinary conservative view (heilsgeschichtlich) which regards religion as purely supernatural, solely the expression and manifestation of the will and purpose of God, he also rejects as inadequate. He seeks to unite the two methods in what he calls the theological method of study which shall seek to deal with religion objectively as a historical phenomenon, as a manifestation of human thought and life, and shall also seek to estimate its value as a revelation of the divine activity. As Volz puts it, religion is inexplicable apart from the recognition of the divine activity in the soul of man. Why Israel's religion reached such a lofty height of moral excellence, the question which Wellhausen left unanswered, Volz would answer by saving that it was due to the work of Moses and men like him to whom God communicated some true understanding of his moral character and of his moral demands.

It is too much to be supposed that this work of Volz will receive general acceptance. Its mediating position will expose it to criticism from the adherents of the two schools between which it seeks to mediate. Furthermore, it cannot be supposed to have solved all the problems which it raises. The relation of the religion of Moses to that of the early tribes which worshiped Yahweh still remains obscure. The unmistakable evidences of the existence of a lower plane of religious life and thought in the period subsequent to Moses still await an explanation which shall be in harmony with the assumed lofty monotheism enunciated by Moses. And particularly it is a very serious question whether so strong a case can be made out for the Mosaic monotheism without ascribing a higher antiquity and a greater degree of trustworthiness to the literary sources for the Mosaic age. But it must be admitted that this study will give added impetus to the forces which are unquestionably operating to transform, if not to overthrow, the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis which, for a generation now, has been dominant in the field of Old Testament science.

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The Lord of Glory: A Study of the Designations of Our Lord in the New Testament with Special Reference to His Deity. By Professor Benjamin B. Warfield. New York: The American Tract Society, 1907. Pp. xi+332. \$1.50.

Those who attempt to reproduce the opinions of Christ and the early church often find themselves obliged to deviate more or less from the paths of traditional Protestant dogma. Not so Professor Warfield of Princeton. He has written a book to show that the opinions of Christ and the writers of the New Testament on one point can find explanation only in the terms of Nicene theology. "We are entering," he says, "then in part upon an exposition, in part upon an argument. We wish to learn how the writers of the New Testament were accustomed to think of Jesus; we wish to show that they thought of him above everything else as a Divine Person." The field chosen for this purpose is the designations used for Jesus in the New Testament. The treatment is an exhaustive word-study. More than half the space is given to the Synoptic Gospels. The Fourth Gospel, though regarded as of equal authority with the Synoptics, is given less space, and the rest of the New Testament treated as corroborative of the gospel position. Abundant footnotes are employed, most often to sustain the positions taken. The result is the most exhaustive monograph which has appeared in English on the subject. All the cases of all words used to designate Christ in the New Testament are gathered and discussed. The argument for the divinity of Christ is put in a cumulative and very skilful way.

The positions taken on some points at present under discussion are of interest. Professor Warfield finds Christ's use of "the Son of man" "obviously" based on Dan. 7:13. The term is strictly messianic. denotes "the spiritual and supernatural Messiah by way of eminence." The demons who utter "voices from the spiritual world" recognize the purity of Jesus as over against their own impurity. "The Son of God" signifies, not merely a unique official relation, but a "distinct implication of the supernaturalness of his person." "Lord," while it may sometimes imply authority and sovereignty, frequently expresses "that absolute sovereignty over the destinies of men which can belong to deity only," as in Matt. 7:21, 22; 25:37, 44. Sometimes it denotes Jesus, not merely as a divine being, but as Jehovah himself (Mark 12:37; 1:3; Luke 2:11). Matt. 28:10 is Christ's own affirmation of the doctrine of the Trinity. There is only "a difference of phraseology" between John and the Synoptics. "The Synoptics present Jesus Christ as God; only they do not happen to say 'God' when speaking of him." Jesus knew himself, not merely as the Messiah, but as a pre-existent, divine being, the equal of God. Any

subordination, as in John 14:28, is most probably merely related to the earthly humiliation of Jesus. This is also the explanation of Paul's hints of subordination; for to Paul, Jesus "in his essential being is just the great God himself." The doctrines of the Two Natures and the eternal covenant of Redemption are taught by John and by our Lord as reported by him. Rom. 9:5 and Titus 2:13 both ascribe proper deity to Jesus. James and Jude are regarded as written by Christ's kinsmen, and therefore their witness is of unique value, aside from the early date of James (45 A. D.). James 2:1 "the Glory," Jude 4 "Lord," are ascriptions to Jesus of equality with Jehovah.

One is impressed, after reading carefully this really fine piece of theological argument, with the great skill with which the New Testament writers, if they believed Jesus to be "just the great God himself," avoided saying so in plain terms. Of course they believed him divine. That is evident on every page of the New Testament. What did the idea connote? What could it connote in that age? One feels the necessity of more historical study than has even yet been given before that question can be finally answered.

One is impressed, also, with the distance at which this book is removed from the modern study of the Bible. Professor Warfield is familiar with this study. His notes show that. But he is not in sympathy with it. Each word assigned to Christ is taken as his verbatim utterance, whether in the Synoptics or in John. In a chapter, "The Jesus of the Synoptics, the Primitive Jesus," the writer protests with vigor against the attempt to present a Jesus in any way different from that of the gospels themselves. One position taken in this chapter is so often used as a basis of argument that it is perhaps worth while to turn aside for a moment to note it. It is that a very considerable time must elapse between the death of a religious leader and any notable change of estimate regarding him on the part of his followers. But a study of the history of religion shows that the element of time is of very small moment in the rise of new conceptions of a person, or even of myths and legends about him. New ideas arise about religious leaders before the grass grows on their graves.

This book belongs to the school of traditional theological exegesis, and is a worthy, scholarly example of its school. It cannot but inspire its readers of all schools to a loftier conception of our Lord and a more careful study of his person.

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

ASTLEY, H. J. D. Prehistoric Archaeology and the Old Testament. Being the Donnellian Lectures delivered before the University of Dublin in 1906-7. Enlarged, and with Notes and Appendices. New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. x+314. \$2 net.

This is another eirenicon between science and religion and from the pen of an episcopal clergyman who seems familiar with the main outlines, at least, of both archaeological science and Old Testament scholarship. The book certainly deserves the careful reading of all interested in this important theme.

STERNBERG, G. Die Ethik des Deuterononiums. Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1908. Pp. 99. M. 2.60.

A welcome addition to the discussion of a subject thus far little considered by scholars. This study of the ethics of the Book of Deuteronomy is critical, and discriminating, and worthy of the attention of students.

ARTICLES

LOFTHOUSE, W. F. The Social Teaching of the Law. *The Expositor*, May, 1908, pp. 449-69.

A suggestive survey of the Hebrew legislation from the point of view of its provisions for social welfare. The author rightly concludes that the social ideals of the prophets are found also in the earlier codes.

COOK, S. A. Notes on the Dynasties of Omri and Jehu. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1908, pp. 597-631.

A detailed study of the sources of information for the period in question, calling attention to many difficulties in the records which have not as yet been sufficiently considered.

KÜCHLER, FR. Jahwe und sein Volk nach Jeremia. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, April, 1908, pp. 81-109.

The subject is discussed under five heads, (1) The basis of the relationship between Jehovah and Israel; (2) The content of that relationship; (3) The actual attitude of the people toward its God; (4) The dissolution of the relationship as a punishment for sin; (5) The renovation of Israel and the renewal of its relation to Jehovah.

MÜLLER, D. H. Strophenbau und Responsion in Ezechiel und den Psalmen. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. XXII, pp. 1-64.

The author here subjects Ezek., chaps. 20 and 23, Ps. 78, and Jer., chaps. 7, 17, 22, and 26, to his well-known strophic treatment. The results are extremely arbitrary. In reference to Ezek., chap. 20, the interesting view is set forth that the elders came to Ezekiel on the occasion referred to for the purpose of securing his endorsement of a project to build a temple for Jehovah in Babylonia, corresponding to that built by the Jews of Elephantine.

GÖTZEL, G. Hizkia und Sanherib. Biblische Zeitschrift, April, 1908, pp. 133-54.

After a careful examination of the various Biblical and Assyrian records regarding Sennacherib's campaign against Jerusalem, and with constant reference to the extensive literature upon the subject, the author concludes that the accounts in II Kings 18:14-16 and the Taylor Prism of Sennacherib refer to a successful invasion by the Assyrians in 701, while that in II Kings 18:13; 18:17-19, 37 refers to an unsuccessful expedition of Sennacherib in the days of Tirhaqa, after 691 B. C.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

HARNACK, ADOLF. The Sayings of Jesus, The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke. [Crown Theological Library New Testament Studies.] Translated by J. R. Wilkinson. New York: Putnam, 1908. Pp. xvi+316.

This attractive volume presents Harnack's recent discussion of "Q," the common discourse-source used by Matthew and Luke, to English readers. Harnack reconstructs this source, and declares it to be a work of the age of the apostles, perhaps of the apostle Matthew himself, and more ancient than Mark, for it shows no Pauline influence. It is unfortunate that so rigid a two-document hypothesis underlies this stimulating book.

HORNER, JOSEPH. The Gospels of Matthew and Luke. A Vindication of Their Agreement and Accuracy as to Certain Dates and Orders of Events. Pittsburgh, 1907. Privately Printed. Pp. 68.

For the most part a discussion on Quirinius and the enrolment of Luke 2:1, 2, and a criticism of Ramsay's Was Christ Born in Bethlehem? The writer can see no difficulty in the governorship of Quirinius, and considers a twenty-year enrolment cycle better attested and more pertinent than the fourteen-year cycle now so well established by the papyri.

MORGAN, G. CAMPBELL. The Parables of the Kingdom. New York: F. H. Revell Co., 1907. Pp. 221. \$1 net.

Ten striking discourses on the parables of Matt., chap. 13, and the parabolic method of Jesus, as set forth in that chapter.

HOLTZMANN, H. J. Evangelium, Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes. [Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament, vierter Band.] Dritte, neubearbeitete Auflage, besorgt von W. BAUER. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. xiii+504. Bound, M. 11.

Holtzmann's important commentary on the Gospel, Epistles and Revelation of John appears in a new edition, revised by W. Bauer. The Fourth Gospel is assigned to the early years of the second century, and has some connection with the Elder John of Ephesus, who as a member of the primitive church may be the voucher behind this gospel. I John is from the same hand; II and III John are not. The Revelation belongs to the last years of the first century and is propably not pseudonymous but from the hand of the Elder John himself.

CAMPBELL, JAMES M. Paul the Mystic. A Study in Apostolic Experience. [Crown Theological Library.] New York: Putnam, 1908. Pp. vi+285. \$1.50 net.

Dr. Campbell finds in Paul a thorough religious mystic, and gives us a stimulating and interesting study of Paul's experience and teaching from this point of view.

Mabie, Henry C. How Does the Death of Christ Save Us? Or, The Ethical Energy of the Cross. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. Pp. 160. 50 cents net.

A strong evangelical putting of the old view of the atonement. Christ's death was, as Dr. Mabie puts it, "vicario-vital" (p. 79).

ARTICLES

ORR, JAMES. The Resurrection of Jesus. V. Expositor, May, 1908, pp. 428-49. Professor Orr argues strongly for the historical character of the bodily resurrection of Jesus on the third day, against Holtzmann, Lake, and Meyer.

Bernard, J. H. St. Paul's Doctrine of the Resurrection. A Study of I Corinthians, Chap. 15. I. *Ibid.*, May, 1908, pp. 403–16.

Dr. Bernard begins a detailed discussion of Paul's great argument for the resurrection of believers, pointing out that the Corinthians did not deny the resurrection of Christ, that Paul made this the guarantee of the believer's resurrection, and that Paul's reference to the "sowing" of the body does not mean its burial.

Ross, G. A. Johnston. "That Form of Doctrine": An Appeal. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-75. "That form of doctrine" (Rom. 6:17) means the Christian moral tradition in which all the ideals and duties of religion are implicit.

Denney, James. He that Came by Water and by Blood. Ibid., 1908, pp. 416-28.

This description of the historical Jesus, by his most characteristic experiences, baptism and passion, suggests not only the sacraments of baptism and communion, with their testimony, but the historical reality of those experiences in the life of Christ, and their practical significance for his followers.

Zahn, Theodor. Neue Bruchstücke nichtkanonischer Evangelien. Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XIX, 5, pp. 370-86.

Zahn holds the author of the new Oxyrhynchus gospel fragment to have been altogether ignorant of the temple and its arrangements. Its appearance in Egypt suggests connection with the Gospel according to the Egyptians, but this cannot be established.

Howorth, H. H. The Origin and Authority of the Biblical Canon according to the Continental Reformers. *The Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1908, pp. 188–230.

The second instalment of a series of three articles on this subject. They are packed with information, and contain many citations from the original documents.

RELATED SUBJECTS BOOKS

MERRILL, SELAH. Ancient Jerusalem. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1908. Pp. 419. \$6.

Dr. Merrill's extended residence in Jerusalem has given him extraordinary opportunities to study its topography and archaeology, to the literature of which subjects this volume is an important contribution. Dr. Merrill begins with Jerusalem in the time of Titus, for which Josephus affords somewhat detailed evidence, and seeks to work back from that point. His views on many points are striking, and his presentation is original and interesting. Numerous excellent plans and plates further enrich the volume.

Breasted, J. H. A History of the Ancient Egyptians. [The Historical Series for Bible Students.] With four maps and three plans. New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. xiii +469. \$1.25.

Students of oriental history will welcome Professor Breasted's short history, based, like his larger one, directly upon original sources, but condensed to the proportions of a convenient manual, and admirably adapted for class use. The most recent discoveries, such as Dr. Breasted's finding of Gem-Aton in Nubia, and the discovery of the Hittite capital at Boghaz Koi in Asia Minor contribute additional elements of interest and value to this notable book.

VÖLTER, DANIEL. Die älteste Predigt aus Rom. (Der sogenannte zweite Clemensbrief.) Neu untersucht. [Die apostolischen Väter, II.] Leiden: Brill, 1908. Pp. vii + 71. M. 1.50.

In harmony with Völter's general theory that I Clement, The Shepherd, I Peter, and James are developments through interpolation from originals representing a "Christianity without Christ," i. e., practically the Old Testament religion, universalistically interpreted and reduced to "its religio-moral kernel," he now takes up

II Clement, maintaining on grounds mostly subjective that its earliest form, including the bulk of chaps. 1–18, was a Roman homily of ca. 135 A. D., and that this was rewrought and enlarged and sent as a letter to Corinth between 150 and 160 A. D.

CHARLES, R. H. The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Edited from nine MSS. Together with the variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions, and some Hebrew Fragments. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Pp. lx+324. £1 net.

The Testaments of the Patriarchs originated in Hebrew about 100 years before Christ, and in the first century A. D., after sustaining some interpolation, passed into two Greek translations, which in turn received Christian interpolations, and were subsequently put into Armenian and later into Slavonic. With a full exhibit of the manuscript readings Professor Charles now publishes a critical Greek text with a discussion of the manuscripts and versions, and an excellent Greek index.

GRÜTZMACHER, GEORG. Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte. Dritter Band: Sein Leben and seine Schriften von 400 bis 420. [Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche.] Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1908. Pp. viii + 293. 3 vols., bound, M. 24.50.

Grützmacher's biography of Jerome reaches its conclusion with this third volume, covering the eventful time from the Origenist controversy until the death of Jerome. His work, of which the first volume appeared in 1901, constitutes probably the most important study of Jerome thus far published, and throws a flood of light upon a momentous period of Christian history.

FAUNCE, D. W. The Mature Man's Difficulties with his Bible. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. Pp. 200. 75 cents, net.

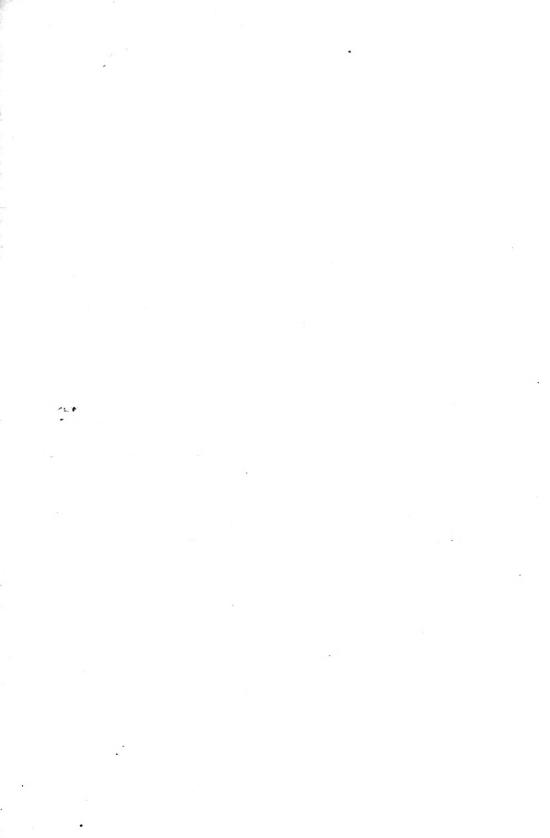
A book containing many good things. But on the whole it must be pronounced inadequate to its purpose. The author does not fully grasp the difficulties occasioned to the Bible student by the modern scientific world-view. The only way in which to meet these problems is with an equally scientific view of the character and function of the Scriptures. This is lacking in this booklet. To those not fully awake to the whole significance of the newer philosophy and criticism this book will probably be useful. But Hammurabi was not "king of the Amorites" (p. 94).

BLOOMFIELD, M. The Religion of the Veda, The Ancient Religion of India. New York: Putnams, 1908. Pp. xv+300.

The results of the life-long study of a leading authority in this department presented in concise and interesting form. A worthy successor to the list of notable volumes thus far included in the series of "American Lectures on the History of Religions."

SMYTH, NEWMAN. Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism. New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. 209. \$1.00 net.

Under this somewhat sensational title the author discusses in three alliterative chapters, I: "Passing Protestantism," II: "Mediating Modernism," III: "Coming Catholicism," the thesis that the intensely individualistic spirit which has characterized and inspired Protestantism is already yielding place and must finally succumb to the growing demand for the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." The style is pleasing and forceful and with the timeliness of the theme will doubtless give the book a wide reading.





RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE AT IRBID—LOWER GALILEE
The cliffs of the Wady Hamam behind

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Editorial

THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

The rise of the modern scientific spirit in Europe and America was viewed with alarm and met with antagonism by the representatives of religion. One does not need to be very far advanced in life to be able to remember the fulminations of pulpit and religious press against what was then known as Darwinism. The more recent denunciations of evolution are familiar to all. Indeed a large part of the Christian church still views the doctrines and spirit of modern science with suspicion if not alarm. Not only does the Pope declare by encyclical that there is no place in the church for those who are not willing to look to her as their supreme guide in all matters on which she speaks, but many a Protestant draws for himself and for others a definite line at which investigation must cease and authority take the place of evidence.

Nevertheless the scientific spirit has gone on its victorious way. From biology to history, from history to theology and religion it has moved, and promises today to become the dominant spirit of the intellectual life of the Occident. Not only so, but it is beginning to be recognized in most unexpected quarters as a strong ally of religion, and that, too, both among those of scholarly temper and those least acquainted with Christianity intellectually. Many devoted preachers of the gospel not only discover in their scientific study illustrations of theological truth, but in the conviction which such study imparts to them that neither truth nor life have anything to fear but everything to gain from the most thorough investigation and the most resolute thinking, find warrant and courage for such thinking and for courageous doing. The historical study of the Bible especially,

which is the product of the scientific spirit working in the field of biblical literature and history, long viewed as a foe to pure religion, has become for many a man a powerful incentive and a most efficient aid to preaching. And on the frontier of Christianity more than one man who has gone to non-Christian lands to preach the gospel has without loss of zeal or religious fervor been led to abandon jungle preaching to become a teacher of science. Very recently, a representative of the China Inland Mission, that most intensely evangelistic of all modern mission movements, has discovered that his most effective implement for religious work is a biological and electrical laboratory.

By many this situation is still viewed with alarm. Yet in fact nothing is more calculated to give us hope and courage. For, in the first place, the assimilation of the scientific spirit in the realm of theology and religion unifies the spiritual life. A house divided against itself is ever in danger of collapse. To think scientifically in one chamber of the mind, and then to abandon this way of thinking, to bow the knee to authority the moment one crosses the threshold into another chamber, is to make one's mental life an internal contradiction, and one's mental progress hesitating and ineffective. It is only when, with full confidence that what is true is good, the thinker faces the facts in every realm with equal openness of mind and equally cordial welcome to truth new or old, that he really comes to the stature of intellectual manhood and marshals all his spiritual forces on the same side of the battle.

In the second place it unifies the intellectual forces of the community. Nothing can be more undesirable than the arraying against one another of the religious interest and the scientific spirit, a mutual antagonism of the men who stand for religion and those who represent science; and nothing is more unnecessary and foolish. But the only remedy for this situation, which in many quarters still prevails, is the thoroughgoing adoption of the scientific spirit. There is indeed a pseudo-scientific attitude, which is unhappily common even among students of science. Not every scientist has the true scientific spirit. It is not at all a question of the realm in which a man works. A chemist may be utterly unscientific in temper, a theologian thoroughly scientific. The essence of the scientific spirit is the willingness

to face one's facts, patiently to discover what they mean, as resolutely to accept the results thus reached, and then to shape one's conduct accordingly. To set limits to the field of investigation or the results to be reached, is just as dogmatic and unscientific when it is the religious phase of life that is ruled out as when one bars out results of geological research or literary study. But the genuine spirit of science inevitably breaks down barriers and draws men together, both because it tends to abolish differences of opinion and because they who possess it find themselves kindred spirits, with nothing to fight over.

In the third place it furnishes religion with a new and powerful weapon, for its own distinctive purposes. This is especially true in two realms, that of the schools and colleges at home, that of aggressive propaganda in non-Christian lands. The scientific spirit is more and more permeating the life of the colleges. No student can escape its influence. It is a matter of congratulation that it is so. But this makes it imperative that religion shall not set itself in antagonism to science; more than this, that it shall itself be permeated with the scientific spirit. Doing this, frankly accepting all that science proves, frankly adopting the scientific attitude in all its apologetic, it makes an appeal to the student mind which dogmatism can never make. And in non-Christian lands, on the other hand, nothing can so enforce the presentation of the message of Christianity as a genuinely scientific spirit. The laboratory experiment will attract attention and undermine superstition. But the handling of spiritual things with a reverence for truth that forbids either prejudiced denunciation of other men's religious convictions or the unsupported dogmatic assertion of one's own favorite type of Christian thought, in other words the spontaneous manifestation of that confidence in truth and regard for it which is the essence of the scientific spirit, will itself commandconfidence and win faith in one's message as nothing else can do. Such a spirit is not only not inimical to religion; it is an essential element of the religion of Jesus. For though Jesus brought to men not primarily a principle of knowledge but of conduct, told them not only how to find truth, but what was the truth by which life was to be lived, thus doing for the world what science itself could not have done, yet his whole teaching is permeated by that sense for reality

and that recognition of the right of truth to command, whatever the past may have affirmed, which is essentially the spirit of science.

"The law was given by Moses. Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ," and that revelation must ever remain supreme in its sphere, the inspiration of men even while they despair of its full realization in their lives. But in these latter days new light has broken forth not only from the written word of God as the Pilgrim Father expected, but from the rocks and hills, and from the heavens above and from the depths of the earth. From the eager study of our whole world, physical, mental, and moral, there has sprung a spirit which, at first supposed to be a foe of the religion of Jesus, is fast becoming its powerful ally. That it is so gives hope for the future, and makes us dare to look for the day when the church shall no longer be joined in unholy alliance with ignorance, but all the forces that make for intelligence shall be arrayed on the side of the religion of Jesus.

THE ANCIENT JEWISH SYNAGOGUES

DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN Jerusalem, Syria

A number of ruins, which have been identified as those of synagogues, lie scattered over a comparatively small area of what is popularly known as Galilee. Successive explorers and archaeologists¹ have one after another approached the examination of them afresh, but each in turn has been compelled to accept the opinion, now universally held, that these buildings are of Jewish origin. The entire absence of shrines or idol pedestals is against their being pagan temples, the want of orientation and absence of apse tell against their being Christian churches, while several general characteristics are positively in favor of Jewish influence. The situation of these buildings, exclusively within an area where we know that Jewish influence was strong at the period within which they must belong, and the occurrence upon the surviving fragments of several of these buildings of Hebrew inscriptions—one at least of which must, from its position, belong to the time of the building's construction, are strong points in favor of this view. Further, the architectural ornamentation is in many of its details characteristically Jewish; the seven-branched candlestick, which occurs also on contemporary Jewish tombs, the vine branches and grape clusters, the palm tree and palm branches, the cup (thought by some to be the traditional idea of the Cup of Manna) are all ornaments familiar to us as the most characteristic adornments of the Jewish coinage. The geometrical design, known today as Solomon's seal XX, which occurs at Tell Hum, is also traditionally of Hebrew origin. Even the frequently occurring lions are no objection, for these figures are common in later synagogue architecture.2

¹ For example, Renan (Mission de Phénicie, pp. 761-83), Robinson (Biblical Researches, Vols. II and III), Guérin (Galilée), Kitchener (P. E. F. Memoirs, Vol. I, and special papers), Wilson (P. E. F. special papers), Thiersch (Mitt. der deutschorient. Gesellschaft), Kohl (Mitt. der deutschorient. Gesellschaft, No. 29).

² See Kauffmann, "Art in the Synagogue," Jewish Quarterly Review, 1897.

The most striking thing about these buildings is their close architectural similarity. Although there must have been scores of synagogues in Galilee, these are the only ruins—unmistakably recognized as such—that have survived, and yet all are built on one general plan. The stones of which they are made are large, the external face is smoothly dressed, the inner is left rough to receive a coating of plaster; they are set without mortar. The extremely massive, almost clumsy character of the masonry has secured the survival of at least some of the original structures. With but one exception the synagogues face south; in at least six the main entrance is through a triple doorway consisting of a large and lofty central portal and two lower ones on each side. These doors have peculiar architrave moldings of a kind closely related in all the members of the group, and in several the lintels are highly ornamented. The doors were folding, with socket hinges, and were closed by bars fixed on the inside. Within the building there were rows of pillars resting on a plinth course running parallel to the side and back walls, and dividing the space into a central lofty court or nave and a three-sided outer part—similar to the aisles and chancel of a church—divided into two stories by a wooden gallery. One of the most characteristic features of these buildings is the occurrence of "double" or more strictly speaking "clustered" columns at the junction of the lateral rows with the end row of columns. These clustered columns are square, like pillars, at the external angles, but internally are composed of two half-engaged columns—the transverse section being thus heart shaped / \. On account of their great bulk, and doubtless, too, their uselessness for later buildings for which ordinary columns may have been in demand, remains of these clustered columns have survived in all the ruins. Another feature, probably common to all the synagogues, was a stone bench for the worshipers against the three sides under the gallery.

Some of the sculptured decorations have been already mentioned, others will be touched upon when the individual ruins are described. But one rather surprising feature, common to all, is the occurrence of animal figures, especially lions (or lambs),³ and eagles. In some

³ These figures have almost everywhere been mutilated. The majority are certainly lions, but some, partly because of the rough carving and partly because of mutilation, cannot be identified with certainty.

of the synagogues human figures—usually intentionally mutilated—are found.

A brief description of the more important features of the Tell Hum synagogue is probably the best method of giving an idea of the general features of the whole group. This building appears to have been the most ornate as well as the largest of these structures. and may have been the type after which the others were modeled. Although it may have been built having its principal entrance south. with the idea of facing toward Jerusalem—in a very general way it is quite as likely that this and the Kerazeh synagogue were placed thus to suit their surroundings, i. e., their highly ornamented facade toward the lake. Built thus, they present their most pleasing aspect toward those sailing on the lake as well as affording the frequenters beautiful views from the terraces and open doors. The later synagogues being modeled after them followed the same general direction. although this was not, at any rate according to the Talmud,4 the orthodox arrangement. The Tell Hum synagogue was seventy-eight feet by fifty-nine feet. The triple southern doors opened upon a raised terrace, which was approached by flights of steps-four on the western and fourteen on the eastern side. Each of these staircases led from a paved street running toward the sea, some fortyfour yards to the south. In the eastern wall is a small door leading into the court paved with limestone blocks previously described.⁵ The northern and eastern boundaries of this court are at such irregular angles to the synagogue as to make it clear that this must belong to an earlier building. Several massive blocks of stone lying here are ornamented in a much more primitive way than the rest, and may be remains of this more ancient synagogue.

The southern façade was the part of the synagogue on which was lavished the greater part of the external decoration, the remaining outer walls being adorned by simple pilasters of low projection. From the fragments of the southern façade, which were found projected on the ground as much as eleven yards in front of the terrace by some mighty earthquake, it is possible to reconstruct its chief features.⁶ On the lintel of the central portal were carved an eagle

⁴ Tos. Meg. 4. 22 f.

⁵ See the paper on "Capernaum," Biblical World, April, 1908, pp. 247 f.

⁶ The description is taken from that of Professor Kohl (loc. cit.).

and mythological figures ("genii") carrying garlands; on the side lintels were palm trees with date clusters, between which were animals now too much defaced for identification, but some at least of which appear to have been centaurs. Associated with the main door were a couple of handsomely carved consols,7 each with a palm tree with dates in high relief. Above this door was a window surmounted by a large stone beautifully carved in the form of a conch. The top of this wall apparently terminated in a gable, within the angle of which ran a much decorated arch. The interior was on the general plan referred to above.⁸ A slightly raised plinth ran twelve and one-half feet inside each of the lateral walls and seven and one-half feet inside the north wall. Upon this structure stood six stylobats for round columns on each side and two at each end, while at the corners stood elaborate special supports for the bases of the clustered columns. The columns themselves were monoliths fourteen feet high, crowned by debased Corinthian capitals carrying a cornice with a highly ornamented frieze. Numerous well-preserved fragments of this frieze show a great variety of ornament-foliage, rosettes, grapes and pomegranates, stars, pentagrams and hexagrams. On the northern frieze there were small animals—lions or lambs emerging from acanthus leaves, but these have everywhere been intentionally mutilated. On the back (i. e., the outer edge) of the cornice were rows of squared holes for the wooden beams which supported the gallery, and from the cornice arose a second series of smaller columns which supported the gabled wooden roof. The back walls of this gallery appear to have been considerably decorated with half-columns in relief. There was thus a lofty central part extending the whole height of the building, around three sides of which ran rows of columns. The space outside the columns was divided into two stories, a lower one some twenty feet or more high, on the same floor-level as the center part, with stone benches on the three sides set against the outside wall, and an upper part or gallery with a second series of smaller columns in front and half columns in relief at the back, against the outer wall. This gallery,

⁷ The position of these consols may be inferred from the Kefr Bersim ruin (see p. 94).

⁸ See plan in paper on "Capernaum, "Biblical World, April, 1908, p. 250.

judging from modern analogy, may have been for the women. The general effect of the interior with its double series of columns, the Corinthian capitals and the elaborate frieze, all of pure white limestone, must have been very striking. But even more effective must have been the appearance as viewed from the lake of the massive and highly decorated front, standing out pure white against its surroundings of black buildings and black basaltic rocks.

The synagogue of Kerazeh in the hills to the north of Tell Hum is slightly smaller than that just described, but follows it very closely in architectural features-more so than any others. Only here, in addition to Tell Hum, are the capitals of the Corinthian order. is entirely built of the black basaltic stone of the neighborhood; and doubtless on this account, because of its extreme hardness, the finish of the sculpturing is much inferior to the work at Tell Hum. The decorations are very similar, and are an interesting supplement to the Tell Hum work because the figures of animals and man have to a much greater extent escaped mutilation. There are many small animal figures, some rather grotesque human forms, and some curious four-legged animals which the German explorers take to be centaurs—possibly intended for cherubim. Four large stones (like "niche heads") most beautifully carved out as conches with delicate surrounding borders, show a very superior workmanship to the rest. It is the opinion of Messrs. Kohl and Watzinger that they belonged to a baldachino, the forerunner of the "ark" of modern synagogues, in which are kept the scrolls of the law. Indications that such a structure stood in the central court not far from the door were found in others of the synagogues.

The remaining ruins of undoubted synagogues are scattered over a comparatively limited area to the northwest and north of the lake. At Irbid—the ancient Arbela—at the commencement of the steep descent to the lake down the Wady Hamam, less than two hours' ride west of Tell Hum, are the ruins of a synagogue peculiar in three respects: first, the building, though otherwise undoubtedly one of this class, has its great triple doorway facing east instead of south. This is not done in order to obtain an outlook to the lake, for only Gennesaret is visible between the high cliffs that shut in the great gorge of the Wady Hamam (see frontispiece); this is an inevitable

result of the situation, for the building occupies ground that rapidly slopes downward to the north. Second, the architecture is very mixed, both debased Corinthian and "Jewish" Ionic capitals⁹ occur, and basalt is mixed with the limestone. Third, the building after partial ruin was reconstructed as a mosque and a large *mihrab*¹⁰ has been built in the south wall. The entire site has long been deserted, and the synagogue in particular has for ages been a limestone quarry for the neighboring inhabitants.



RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE AT UMM EL CAMED

One hour's ride due west of Irbid, along the track of an ancient (probably Roman) road, is a ruin known as Khurbet Umm el Amed, i. e., the ruin of (the mother of) the columns. From considerable distances on all sides a great limestone "clustered" column can be seen standing up from amidst the ruins of a small town (see illustration). The site is a remarkable one. The ruins occupy the entire surface of an outcrop of lava occurring in the middle of a saddle

⁹ That is, a modification of Ionic peculiar to these Jewish buildings.

¹⁰ A niche pointing the direction to Mecca.

of limestone which forms the eastern boundary of the great plain el Battauf, known to Josephus as the "Plain of Asochis." The natural drainage of the eastern half of the plain is toward the Lake of Galilee: but this being obstructed by the ridge, much of it becomes, after the winter's rains, an impassable bog, and in pre-historic times must have been a shallow lake. It is probable that there is water close under the surface of the town site; for, though there is no visible spring, there is a considerable patch of water-loving reeds at the highest part of the ruins. The site has long been deserted, and we have no record of its ancient name. The newly excavated synagogue remains lie to the southern side of the town, and, in contrast to the rest of the ruins, are of limestone. The outline of the original ground plan has been recovered, the plinth course is entire, and some of the column bases are in their original situation. A good deal of the masonry has been transferred to a neighboring mediaeval building, now itself a ruin. Like the others described, this building had three doorways to the south; over the main portal was a lintel with two lions standing to the right and left of a vase, each with his foot on what is apparently the head or skull of a bull. The capitals of the columns are a peculiar Jewish modification of Ionic which occurs also in the northern group of synagogues. The floor was paved with the white mosaic that is so common in Roman buildings in Palestine.

The remaining recognized synagogue-ruins form a group to the west, northwest, and north of Safed. They are all near together, no member of the group being more than six hours' ride from Tell Hum. At the Maronite (Christian) village of Kefr Ber'im, on the highroad from Safed to Tyre, there is a synagogue ruin of great importance. There seems to be some fanciful connection between Ber'im (which is apparently a proper name) and Purim, for the tomb of Queen Esther used for long to be pointed out here and the Jews were accustomed to assemble here to read the book of Esther during the Feast of Purim. The place was visited as a sacred spot by mediaeval Jews, and by the sixteenth century these pilgrims speak of the synagogues as in ruin. The great synagogue occupies a position at very nearly the highest part of the modern village. The ruin is of special

¹¹ Josephus, Vita, § 41, etc.

importance because it contains a great part of the southern façade (see illustration), thus enabling us to picture the appearance of the corresponding part in the other ruins. In front of this triple entrance is a kind of porch, with a sunk court, one column of which is still in position. On the lintel of the main portal is a wreath which was apparently supported by mythological figures (genii), now almost entirely defaced. Over this door was an arched window, and above each side entrance rectangular windows. The figures which once



SOUTHERN FACADE OF THE SYNAGOGUE AT KEFR BERGIM-UPPER GALILEE

decorated these windows have also been destroyed. Under the eastern window is a much defaced Hebrew inscription. The internal plan is identical with those of the buildings already described. The area was till recently occupied by some hovels, but has now been cleared.

In the fields to the north of the village there was till recently a very striking doorway belonging to a second smaller synagogue. It is figured in the *Memoirs*¹² of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and

¹² Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 232.

when I first visited the place in 1893 it was standing. In 1907·I found it gone, and learned that the magnificent sculptured monoliths of which it was composed had been thrown down and cut up for building stones. Upon the lintel was a wreath and two much mutilated lamb-like animals, besides a somewhat illegible Hebrew inscription, which, according to Renan, read: "Peace be upon this place and all the places of Israel. Joseph the Levite the son of Levi put up this lintel. A blessing rest upon his work." This smaller



RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE AT EL JISH-UPPER GALILEE

synagogue had only one doorway: the ground-plan was uncovered and measured by the Palestine Exploration Fund explorers, but it is today entirely covered up.

At el Jish, the ancient Gischala of Josephus, about two miles southeast of Kefr Bercim, there are scattered remains of what was once apparently a synagogue of the same class as those described. The original site is probably covered by buildings belonging to the modern town. About a mile to the northeast of el Jish, on the northern bank of the deep Wady esh Shaghur, are the remains of a building which, like the smaller synagogue of Kefr Bercim, had

only one door. Parts of the outer walls have quite disappeared, but the door foundations, the plinth course, and some of the stylobats remain in position (see illustration). On the undersurface of the great lintel is carved an eagle with garlands. A worn Hebrew inscription on one of the columns reads, according to Renan: "Joseph ben Nahum built this arch. May a blessing fall on him." The synagogue was divided by the column rows into three aisles, each a little over fifteen feet wide.

Nearly three miles to the south of el Jish is the little Mohammedan village of Meron, a place sacred to the Jews on account of the great Talmudic scholars who, according to tradition, lie there buried. Here is the very curious (traditional) rock-tomb of Rabbi Hillel and his thirty-six disciples, that of Rabbi Shammai, and of Rabbi Simeon ben Jockai. At the tomb of the last named which, with that of his son, is included in a modern synagogue building, a great annual feast of two days is held every spring, to which come Jews from all parts of the world. While bonfires are lighted and wild revelry is held at this site of very doubtful authenticity, the genuine Jewish relic—the ruined synagogue on the hillside to the north—stands deserted and entirely neglected by Hebrew sentiment; the Jews indeed do not appear to recognize at all that this is a work of their own people. The ruins occupy a prominent situation against the eastern flank of a small rocky knoll, and from them a beautiful view of the Lake of Galilee is visible. Only the central and the western smaller portals of the great southern façade remain (see illustration). Upon them are architrave moldings identical with those at Kefr Ber'im. The greater part of the synagogue area has been cut out of the solid rock, and upon the rock-floor may still be traced the original position of the columns. The whole eastern side of the building has fallen down and for some reason, evidently the deliberate act of man, the whole internal area has been cleared and fragments of columns, bases, stylobats, and capitals strew the hillside below. The southern façade, the general area-dimensions, and the surviving fragments show that this was a synagogue practically identical in style with that at Kefr Bercim.

A couple of hours' ride—about five miles on the map direct—to the northeast of Meron is Khurbet Nebratain. These ruins occupy a couple of low hills, known today as Nebra and Nebratain¹³ respectively, in a deep valley between Safed and the Jordan. The Upper Jordan Valley and Hermon are visible from the site. The position appears somewhat secluded, but it may be seen from several much frequented paths along the sides of the surrounding mountains. Both hills are strewn thick with Graeco-Roman pottery, and have evidently been but little inhabited since that period. The ancient name is unknown. The synagogue of Nebratain occupies the lower



SOUTHERN FAÇADE OF SYNAGOGUE AT MERON-UPPER GALILEE

northernmost hill, and the foundation courses have now been uncovered by the German archaeologists. It proves to be one of the smaller buildings, dimensions 53 ft., 7 in. by 37 ft., 9 in., with a single, southern, door. The lintel is perfect (see illustration); on it is a leaf pattern in the middle of which is a wreath inclosing a seven-branched candlestick, while below, running the whole length of the stone, is a cryptic Hebrew inscription—the letters apparently being employed rather for ornament than for word-use. Internally there were

¹³ Nebra means "high place" and Nebratain, "two high places;" the names certainly suggest that some temple or synagogue was on each of the hills.

two rows of four columns, and a fifth "clustered" column at each northern end. On the base of one of the stylobats is cut the figure of a hare, and other ornamental fragments include the figure of a lion and a sculptured vase—cut in relief—out of which a vine branch with grapes issues on each side. On the southerly hill Nebra are also remains which may have belonged to a second synagogue, but there is not enough for certainty. The lime kiln which crowns the height tells its own tale of recent destruction.



THE INSCRIBED LINTEL AT NEBRATAIN

This completes the list of synagogues of which we can be certain. Tell Hum, Kerazeh, Irbid, Umm el 'Amed, Kefr Ber'im, and Meron all contribute something to the materials for the ideal reconstruction of the large, triple-door synagogue of the period; at el Jish, Kefr Ber'im, and Nebratain we have ruins of very similar buildings on a smaller scale. In the village of el Jish, at the neighboring villages of Sifsaf and Sasa, as well as at Tiberias, there are remains which make it clear that similar ruins once existed there. At ed Dikkeh, a picturesque spot by the Jordan just before it enters el Bataihah, 14

 $^{\rm 14}\,{\rm See}$ the paper on "Bethsaida and Chorazin," $\it Biblical\ World,\ June,\ 1908,\ p.\ 407.$

there are scattered capitals and columns and stones ornamented with vines—all of black basaltic rock—which appear to have belonged to a Jewish building. The German archaeologists traced remains of the triple doorway, but considered the building was a synagogue of a later period than those described. The same may be said of the ruins at Umm el Kanatir¹⁵ and other places in the Jaulan which do not concern us here.

At Keisiun, about three miles north of Nebratain, are the ruins



RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE AT EL KEISIUN

(see illustration) of a columnated building which may have been that of a synagogue, particularly as there are Jewish tombs in the immediate neighborhood, and the place is probably the Kasioun mentioned in the Jewish itineraries. The remains, however, present more of the characteristic features of the group of buildings just described. This is important, because a Greek inscription belonging to the time of Septimius Severus, which was found here, was utilized by Renan in assigning a date in the second century A. D. for all these buildings. At 'Alma, six miles north of Safed, M. Guérin also found the ruins of a synagogue, among them a lintel with a single line of

¹⁵ See Schumacher, The Jaulan, pp. 260-65.

Hebrew which read "(Peace be) upon this place and all the places of Israel." Somewhat doubtful synagogue remains also exist at Khurbet es Semmuka on Mount Carmel, and at Khurbet et Taiyebeh near Shefr 'Amir.

The important buildings at Kades, Yarun, and Belat, once thought to be synagogues, are certainly not Jewish, and probably were all pagan temples, that at Yarun having been at a later period converted into a Christian basilica. Each of these three buildings preserves some architectural features common to the synagogue group. At Kades we find sculptured vine leaves with grape clusters as well as a fine eagle upon the lintel; at Yarun the beautiful carved palm trees with dates remind us much of similar work at Tell Hum; at Belat, among the sixteen columns on this lonely height, the same double "clustered" columns so characteristic of the synagogues occur. Indeed, this may, as Kitchener suggests, be the clew to the introduction of this special feature into Jewish architecture. Belat is within sight of Tyre, where similar gigantic "clustered" columns of red granite (afterward used in a Christian cathedral) once formed a part of the great temple of Melcarth whom, we read,16 "was worshiped at Tyre in the form of two pillars."

When we come to discuss the age of these synagogue ruins we find a good deal of uncertainty. We shall probably all echo the words of one¹⁷ who was among the first to face the problem: "One attaches a value of the highest order to these buildings which we should like to date back to the times of the Herods or the later Maccabeans, when one thinks of the discussions which they must have heard and of the feet which must have walked in them." Unfortunately our wishes cannot influence the facts. For such an early date as (say) Herod the Great we may argue from the somewhat unwieldy character of the masonry, the absence of mortar and the occurrence of animal, mythological, and even human figures in the decorations—this last would appear to be an improbable occurrence after the rise of Talmudic influence. It must also be noted that with but one exception the buildings are constructed looking southward instead of to the east which became the orthodox direction in Talmudic times.

¹⁶ Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, p. 208.

¹⁷ Renan, Mission de Phénicie, p. 772.

As regards Tell Hum, the largest and probably the earliest of these buildings, it may further be asked: Is it possible that this building could have been erected far in the Christian era when, as was mentioned in the paper on Capernaum, this place became, apparently in either the apostolic or sub-apostolic age, a stronghold of Minîm (heretics), i. e., Christians? Lastly, anticipating what will be said farther on, do we know enough of the architecture of Palestine in the first Christian century to be able to dogmatize as to what could or could not have been built in that period? Having stated these suggestions I must now record the opinion of those whom one must consider architectural and archaeological authorities. With one voice, though often on differing grounds, they ascribe these buildings to the second or even the third century in the Christian era; later than this they cannot be. First, Renan dated them to the end of the second century—a conclusion based partly upon the before-mentioned Greek inscription of Keisiun; his main argument, however, that the style belongs to the second Antonines and that such buildings are most explicable at this particular period of Jewish history, are valid today. Lord Kitchener¹⁸ bases his arguments chiefly on historical grounds and dates the buildings "between 150 and 300 A.D." I much doubt, however, whether many will follow him in his hypothesis that the synagogues "were forced upon the people (Jews) by their Roman rulers at a time when they were completely submissive to their power and that directly they were able they deserted such pagan buildings as disloyalty to their religion." Nor is it necessary to conclude, as he does, that the Jews in these buildings prayed "with their backs to Jerusalem;" it is much more probable that they faced toward the open doors. Professors Kohl and Watzinger, who have made the later Roman architecture of Syria their special study, and who did such epoch-making work at Baalbec, are very positive on archaeological grounds alone that these buildings cannot be earlier than Baalbec, and they would date them to the early part of the third century A. D.

In the absence of any historical mention of these buildings and of any contemporary datable inscription within them we are thrown back upon historical probability and the interpretation of the architecture. On these heads the opinion of specialists concurs, and

¹⁸ Loc. cit.

unless new light is thrown on the subject, to their opinion we must submit.

A report is current in Palestine that the Jews intend to purchase these ruins. It is sincerely to be hoped that this is the case. It is quite extraordinary how lukewarm is the interest exhibited by the Jewish people in these venerable and precious relics of their race. Nothing is more eloquent on this head than the very scanty reference made to them in their recent monumental work, the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. One thing is certain, that unless something is done speedily, the last characteristic fragments will disappear. They have been melting rapidly away all through the centuries; but now that their last foundations are uncovered, the fellahin will carry off every available fragment for both building-stone and lime, for which there is an increasing demand and a rising market.

¹⁹ Article "Synagogue."

THE HISTORICITY OF THE FIRST PATRIARCH. I

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Once upon a time a group of children gathered about their mother's knee for a story. In answer the mother told of the beginnings of the family; of their heroic deeds, by which their old homestead had been first captured and occupied; of the mistakes which individual members had made; of the checkered family fortunes; of the crushing calamities; of the sustaining hand of God. How, pray, did the children act? At first all listened intently to the mother's tale, entranced by the inspiring personages whom by her word-pictures she brought down to the present time. But soon the most of the little company were wearied by these stories, and, instead of remaining in the twilight to listen to mother's words, ran out into the darkness of the night.

This is ordinarily the fate of the story of the patriarchs. For how highly were they once extolled! The praise of Abraham's faith rang loudly through the centuries. It seemed impossible sufficiently to marvel at the joyous spirit with which this man obeyed the divine impulse to become in a far-off land the founder of a new branch of the race. Not often enough, apparently, could that expression of self-abnegating modesty be repeated: "If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right," etc. The stirring picture of the hospitality extended to the three men who stopped at his tent could not be too frequently seen. The words of intercession for the diminishing number of the righteous in Sodom, though oft rehearsed, could not be too often heard. But at present many feel forced to thrust the forms of Abraham and the other patriarchs into the dim territory of non-existence. If one speaks of them, you observe a compassionate smile at the steadfast adherence to that which is time honored.

Numerous are the causes of this change which the estimation of patriarchal history has suffered in the minds of very many in the present day. In the first place, that paralyzing curse, which the dead-stillness of religious belief, in many modern minds, places upon all the events of the past, in which the supernatural forms a factor, makes its contribution. With this first check on the joyous belief in old stories is united very often the doubt cast on the age of the Israelitish historical sources. The third partner in this company of distrust is the common aphorism, "No race knows the beginnings of its history" (Existenz). Its twin brother is the dogma: "Peoples arise not through the branchings of a family but only through the mingling of races." Finally the roots of the faith in these old narratives were further cruelly gnawed by the teeth of the theory that the patriarchs were originally simply forms in the mythology of western Asia.

Nevertheless, these giants, which the impetuous modern spirit—in so many instances enveloped in the toga of proud erudition—holds in its train, have not by any means been without worthy antagonists. No, indeed! Many critics have questioned the legitimacy of the axioms just named. Consequently around this assumption of modern presentations of the *exclusive* right to the designation *critical*, there has arisen a vigorous *manifestation of criticism*. In what follows will be recorded the very latest symptoms of life in the critical examination of the so-called "critical" hypotheses, relative to the history of Abraham.

I. For three decades now many modern interpreters of Genesis regarded it proved, beyond further question, that the narration of Abraham's battle with the eastern oppressors of Palestine (Gen., chap. 14) "was to be taken" as a very late, learned, and artificial bit of chronicling. The names of unknown persons and places, which occur therein, serve only for ancient splendor. But this merely ostensible splendor has been scattered to the four winds by an acute investigation of Professor Ernst Sellin. This writer does well to point out the fact that all the names of places in this account have not yet been explained by later terms. Thus the narrator did not, after all, employ archaic names in order to elucidate them later on, and thereby to lend to his narrative an artificial appearance of

¹ Holzinger, Kurzer Handcommentar (1898), p. 147.

² E. Sellin, "Melchisedek," Neue kirchliche Zeitschrist (December, 1905), pp. 929 ff.

antiquity. If the chronicler had wished simply to add to his account an archaic tinge, why did he not then, e.g., define Chazazon-Thamar (vs. 7) by Engedî? Besides, a number of expressions in this narrative recall in a noteworthy way those which are read in the twelve cuneiform texts; these texts which were uncovered in the well-known and deservedly famous excavations of Sellin at Ta cannek (1904). The narrative most certainly tells of the experienced servants of Abraham whom he summoned to the pursuit of the foreign conquerors (vs. 14). The word there employed (Chanik) brings to mind the chan naku-ka, "thy men," which the assyriologist Fr. Hrozný, Sellin's collaborator, read in the letters found at Ta cannek.³ Again, to the familiar phrase, "bread and wine"—which Melchizedek brought out to refresh the warriors returning home from battle—there are the parallels ak alu and shik aru in the Amarna letters (50:23; 51:22; 138:11). These letters also shed much light over ancient Palestine generally.

Now it is true that Wellhausen most emphatically rejected just this very section of the account which deals with Melchizedek. portion of the fourteenth chapter, he remarks, is a substratum, which was put in place with the intention of furnishing to the payment of tithes at Jerusalem the time-honored support.4 But Sellin rightly replies, that to begin with the name Salem offers no basis for such an assertion, since this name can be the same as Uru-Salim, which indeed was also found, to the great astonishment of all investigators, in the Amarna letters (180:25, etc.), as the older form of the name Jerusalem. Uru, the form for "city," can be omitted. Further, according to Sellin, Melchizedek is to be accepted as a true element of the tradition, since Ps. 110 is not to be designated Maccabaean, as it is by a few modern commentators. Indeed, I can add that the latest commentator on the Psalter⁵ comes very near placing this psalm in the time of David, and according to my own judgment it is most correctly derived from David. For only just at the close of David's life did the singular instance arise that, even while the king yet lived, his

 $^{^3}$ Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Vol. LII, sec. iii (1905), pp. 37 f.

⁴ Wellhausen, Die Komposition des Hexateuchs, pp. 310 f.

⁵ Chas. A. Briggs, International Critical Commentary, on "The Book of the Psalms," Vol. II (1907), p. 374.

successor had already entered on the duties of the office. This fact is also carefully noted by the historian, when he puts in the mouth of David the words: "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel, who hath given one to sit on my throne this day, mine eyes even seeing it" (I Kings 1:48, Am. Rev. Ver.). Consequently the possibility may not be denied that David composed Ps. 110 with direct reference to the new ruling sovereign. Thus, chiefly through Sellin's critical treatise, it was shown that, in Abraham's patriotic espousal of the cause of freedom in his new homeland, there is treasured up a genuine old tradition.

In general, then, the historical data of the patriarchal period may no longer be viewed with so much suspicion as is at present common in so many quarters. For this skepticism unfairly overlooks the many marks of trustworthiness which are found throughout the old Hebrew historical books, and also in those sections dealing with patriarchs. Are not two old annals quoted by name in these records? To be "The Book of Jashar" (the upright) (Josh. 10:13 sure: namely: and II Sam. 1:18) and "The Book of the Wars of 'Yahwe' "(Num. 21:14), i. e., the book of the battles which were fought out under the invisible guidance of the Everlasting One and for his people. Why should not this last source have contained, e. g., an account of that heroic expedition of Abraham? What a plain indication of the disposition to foster old traditions is such a collection of old historical writings in general! But there are other symptoms of the vitality of this disposition in ancient Israel. This people shows not a little solicitude to form for itself concrete aids to memory. Was not Goliath's sword hung up in the sanctuary, as a national trophy (I Sam. 21:9)? Did not that monument with the inscription Eben Ezer ("Stone of help." I Sam. 7:12), cast a bright gleam through the centuries? What a remarkable witness to the national and religious homogeneity of Israel was there erected at the Jordan (Josh. 22:26 ff.)! Thus also it is related of Abraham that he planted a tamarisk tree at Beersheba (Gen. 21:23); and even if this tree at the outset was intended perhaps merely to mark a "sacred shrine," yet the long-lived tree served at the same time inevitably as a stimulus to the memory. What a powerful witness to past experiences was also that burial-cave at Hebron!

But in addition there are several series of incidental statements which can be called indirect indications of the vigorous zeal with which the ancient Hebrews observed the course of their history. These series begin with the repeated remarks about the change of urban names (Gen. 14:2, etc.); of the names of months; of the appellation of the prophet (I Sam. 9:9), etc. They continue further in the details about the date, when a city was founded (Num. 13:22) or when a national custom arose (I Sam. 30:25). All this material in point has already been exhaustively gathered by me.⁶ In this way that one-sideness was rectified with which the critical work of the so-called "critical" school noted only such data in the form and contents of the Hebrew historical narratives as were adapted to injure their authority.

Among the positive traces of credibility in the Old Testament one certainly is of fundamental importance for the patriarchal period. This is the fact that Israel, on the whole, differentiated a pre-Mosaic period in its history. For, if the glory of Moses as the founder of Israel's national independence had been misleading, how natural would it have been to have dated Israel's beginnings from his rise to power. If the memories of Israel had been so slightly ancient and founded on so slight a basis, as many in modern times represent them, the next step would be to begin Israel's existence simply with Moses. Then he would have been exalted most naturally into a so-called heros eponymus. But all the brilliancy, in which the Mosaic epoch shone as the hour of Israel's youth (Hosea 11:1), did not after all permit that light to languish, which according to its traditions sparkled from the pre-Mosaic times. With the sun in the zenith they forgot not the gray dawn of the morning. The consciousness of the Israelitish nation that its beginnings reached back beyond Moses' time, and that Jacob and Abraham were even before the bearers of its true mission in the history of civilization, was not extinguished; and the pre-Mosaic history of Israel was not invented for its glorification. For what people has invented for itself a period of ignominy in its past history like the time of Egyptian bondage!

Yes! the differentiation in Israel of the pre-Mosaic period is a

⁶ In my short treatise, Glaubwürdigkeitsspuren des A. T., pub. by Ed. Runge, Gross-Lichterfelde Berlin.

consideration of cardinal importance for the question of the historical reality of the first patriarch.

2. By means of the studies made thus far, which are valid, especially for the *sources* of patriarchal history, we have proved invalid the most formidable objection which has been customarily raised against the actual existence of the first among the patriarchs. But it is perhaps further urged that *no nation knows the origin of its history*.

With the sentence, "In Israel's beginnings the historical reminiscences extend backward no farther than among other races." one of the latest commentaries on the first book of the Bible concludes its treatment.7 Meanwhile the first thing which one should immediately emphasize in opposition is this: Thus the last court, to which the words cited appeal, is an aphorism. And the second is the query: Does this general assertion—even if it were indubitably true of all non-Israelites—really find any application among Israelites? this abstract statement entirely fair with special reference to Israel's preservation of historical data? Does that general verdict take into consideration the psychological and very explicable possibility that a nation which possessed exceptionally valuable traditions could also set special value on the transmission of their traditioned treasures? For in reality are not those families which cherish worthy traditions also most solicitous to hand it down from generation to generation? These questions are not even raised in the commentary on Genesis just mentioned, let alone answered. Both are taken up in my short study referred to above.8 There it is plainly shown, over against Wellhausen's position, that the indications of Israel's fostering care for traditions and the differentiation into historical periods belong by no means to only one of the Pentateuchal documents.

3. This second theory could be treated somewhat briefly, because it is related to a third view, which prevents the recognition of the historical existence of the patriarchs. It is the thesis: "New nations never arise through the rapid multiplication of a single tribe, new tribes never through descent in one family, though the individual generations be rich in numbers and very numerous." Thus reads a sentence in Stade's Geschichte des Volkes Israel (I, p. 28); thus runs

⁷ These are the last words in Holzinger's Kommentar (p. 271).

⁸ Glaubwürdigkeitsspuren des A. T., pp. 39 ff.

another in Holzinger's work on Genesis (1898, p. 270) from which I quoted above, and the same affirmation is repeated by Guthe in his Geschichte des Volkes Israel (2d ed., 1904, p. 162). However, no matter how often I read these unqualified declarations, I invariably regret the absence of a slight trifle. Nowhere have I found a single proof of this thesis. To be sure, it is customary to refer to a book by Radloff (in St. Petersburg) which bears the title From Siberia, and to continue that he here gives an "instructive description" of how tribes arise even to-day from the fusion of families and races. But that certainly is too narrow a basis to carry that universal conclusion which they deduce; indeed, this unqualified allegation can never be established at all. How, pray, can it ever be proved impossible that in Arabia or some other land many a tribe, large in numbers, did actually arise in essentially the same manner as the narrative in Genesis informs us Abraham's clan did?

But vice versa, the proofs fail not. Just recently I have read that the well-known and justly celebrated Arabist, Th. Nöldeke, recognizes that Omaija, ancestor of Banû (i. e., sons), Omaija and other such tribal progenitors are historical personages. Alongside of these there are also several other names which were appropriated from the chief of the respective tribes. Besides this, Carl Grüneisen points out in a very valuable contribution the following statement of the French scholar Fustel de Coulanges:

According to the injunctions of the ancient household worship the sons were in duty bound to render to the father, even after his death, the customary honors. Every year on the anniversary of his death the sons under the leadership of the eldest, who lived together as one family, assembled to offer common oblations at his grave. Soon grandsons reach manhood and are admitted as full members to participation in the common cult. Then the elders die off and the younger generation steps into their places. Thus the circle of the family is considerably enlarged so that very soon it could no more be content with the old dwelling-place. But the cult of the father is transmitted to his progeny and, even if after a series of generations the relationship between the different branches of the family be no longer demonstrable, yet the most intimate conceivable bonds unite it, even the common worship, which the members continue annually to offer at the grave, as

⁹ In Zeitschrift d. deut. morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XL, p. 159.

¹⁰ Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels (1900), pp. 233 f.

¹¹ La cité antique, 14th ed., Paris, 1803.

a sacrifice to the founder of the original family—their grandsire, and as well the tutelary deity of their race—and the family name which descends from him on all the individuals in the clan.

In this way is born, according to the well-founded judgment of Fustel de Coulanges, a Roman *gens* or a Greek family, i.e., through the "continual branching-out of a single family."

Now is it possible to deny what is true of the Latin and Greek races to the posterity of Abraham? This latter race certainly did not lack the common bond of a unique religion, which bound together first the original members and then the succeeding generations. What if representatives now and then strayed away from the deep convictions and high aims of their great-grandsire—that is ever the course of human history. Among Abraham's descendants, we most assuredly remember how the rivalry of the sons was bridged over at his grave and the chill of prolonged separation was transformed by the warm glow of common filial piety. For the account of the first patriarch's death ends thus: "And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah" at Hebron. Why, pray, should not the tribe emigrating to Egypt have developed through the branching-out of one family? We read a relevant statement made by Tacitus (Germania, chap. iv): "I accept the opinion of those who conclude that the German peoples have arisen not through mixed marriages with other nations; and consequently they constitute a peculiar and unique race." Then, again, F. Peiper¹² reaches this conclusion: "A degenerate characteristic of consanguineous marriages has not as yet been demonstrated." In conclusion it is recorded of several of Abraham's near posterity¹³ that they married wives in part from distant branches of the family and in part from other tribes. After all my prolonged investigations, I must declare that the first steps in Israel's evolution as a nation could have thus progressed in all that is essential, just as it existed in the historical consciousness of this people, and that the tribe, thus evolving into a nation, could have been throughout the process the posterity of one real historical progenitor. Therefore I must at this point contradict

¹² In his dissertation on Consanguinität in der Ehe und deren Folgen für die Deszendenz (1902), p. 44.

¹³ Gen. 24:4 ff.; 46:10; Exod. 6:15.

the author of the latest solution to the question of Abraham's historical reality. Although he purposes to defend his historicity, yet at the same time he expresses himself as follows: "The wandering of an Edomite tribe is recounted in the same words as the expedition of Abraham." But the proof is entirely lacking, and therefore the conclusion based on that allegation, namely, that Israel's emigration concerned not the departure of a single person merely, or of a family, but the movement of an entire tribe. His further notion that Abraham's name is to be regarded at the same time as the symbol, the type, the representative of a large migratory and colonizing process, is neither drawn from the sources nor is it consistent with their clear presentation of the facts. The first patriarch appears in all source-narratives a simple human personality, as will be demonstrated in detail in paragraph 4 immediately below—if this can still be deemed necessary.

The author of the latest pamphlet on Abraham has permitted himself to be carried along—to be sure in a manner very easily explicable—by a current which in such presentations sweeps widely just at this moment. This influence appears in such a statement as the following: "Abraham was not progenitor in an ethnographical but in a religious sense."15 How enticing at first glance is this statement. Nevertheless it is-not ancient oriental but modern-illumination of Abraham's history and not at all conformable to the sources. For in the first place this is not the meaning of the passages which the originator of this new assertion used in his propositions, viz.: Gen. 12:2: "I will make of thee a great nation" (Am. Rev. Ver.), and Num. 14:12: "I will make of thee a nation greater and mightier than they" (Am. Rev. Ver.). Secondly, this does not represent the sense of the Old Testament words, because Abraham is designated "father of the faithful" on a higher level in the history of redemption. Least of all, thirdly, is this new view established by the assertion that the usual import of Old Testament words applied to Abraham and his son Isaac represent an "ethnographic misconception." Besides, this last proof has great similarity to the sentence in which the same author designates as a "fatal dogma" the Old Testament declaration that a significant

¹⁴ F. Wilke, War Abraham eine historische Person? (1907), p. 41.

¹⁵ Alfred Jeremias, Das A. T. im Lichte des alten Orients (1906), p. 327.

relationship, deeply religious, existed between Abraham and Israel. And why? Because in his eyes such an affirmation in the Old Testament leads straight "to particularism." However, the words in question never led in this direction when competent authorities were the guides. This truth can be overlooked only by one who, like Friedrich Delitzsch in one instance, 16 simply drops out the sentence from the primary source about Abraham's call: "And in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Do not the prophecies, let me ask, about the ascent of the nations to the mountain of the Lord, etc. (Isaiah 2:2-4, etc.), still exist in the Old Testament? Whom alone does the Old Testament's statement concerning Abraham's place in the scheme of salvation lead astray to an idea of particularism? Only narrow-minded persons who think it is right to circumscribe the broad vision in the divine plan of redemption. Is it because of these narrow-minded souls that Abraham should no longer be designated the true ancestor of Israel? On account of such should men speak only of the "forefather in the religious sense"? How then, pray, could that sentence "in thy seed, etc.," which comes instantly to mind, have been penned? This fresh statement, therefore, does not correspond to historical truth. This new notion cannot displace the evidence of the sources to the effect that Abraham was a real historical individual.

¹⁶ Babel und Bibel, II, p. 38; and cf. the Preface.

THE FIELD OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY TODAY

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Seldom has any branch of human learning been called upon to adjust itself to so radically new a situation as has systematic theology within the past few years. Its task used to be defined as the comprehensive systematizing of biblical doctrines.¹ In fact, biblical exegesis was formerly largely controlled by doctrinal considerations. But today biblical scholarship has perfected its methods, and has adopted a point of view which makes the old proof-text machinery seem totally inadequate. The Bible is now treated as a living record of the historical experiences of religious people rather than as a compendium of doctrines. The freshness and virility exhibited in the newer historical expositions has made treatises like those of Shedd or Hodge seem scholastic in method. Popular interest has recently been centered on the results of historical scholarship rather than on any "systematic" presentation of the content of the Bible. It is not too much to say that for the past twenty years the systematic theologian has been engaged in a field of labor against which there has been a general prejudice.

There are, however, signs that this branch of religious thinking is about to enter upon a new epoch. The almost complete disappearance of the older type of theologian from our seminaries has been vividly portrayed by Professor Frank Hugh Foster. After calling attention to the fact that in 1880 the New England Theology was dominant in almost all Congregational, and in many of the Presbyterian seminaries, he adds:

Fifteen years later these teachers had all been replaced, and in no case by a man who could be considered as belonging to the New England school. It had endured more than 150 years; it had become dominant in a great ecclesiastical

¹ Hodge, Systematic Theology, I, 11: "The only difference between 'biblical' and 'dogmatic' theology is in form. The first examines the Bible part by part, writer by writer. The last examines it as a whole."

denomination; it had founded every Congregational seminary; and as it were, in a night, it perished from off the face of the earth.²

It is true that for a time the disappearance of the old was a more marked feature than the appearance of the new theology. But a glance at the publications since the opening of the century will convince one that there is an encouraging amount of fruitful work in the realm of systematic theology. It is the purpose of this article to indicate briefly some of the aspects of Protestant scholarship in this field. While the causes for theological change are felt in the Catholic church as well as in Protestantism, the modernist movement in Catholicism is concerned more with the vindication of the rights of free scholarship in biblical and historical realms than in the construction of doctrine. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves in our survey to Protestantism, and can, in the space at our disposal, consider only the general aspects of theological systematization.

At the outset, it should be stated that the past few years have seen the publication of a number of vigorous treatises which continue, with some modifications, essentially the traditional method of dogmatics.³ As is indicated by the publishing houses of some of these, conservative ecclesiastical interests are in the forefront. But although the authors believe themselves to be faithful to orthodox ideals, there are some interesting elements showing how the changed situation has made itself felt even in orthodox dogmatics. The older doctrine of biblical infallibility has been almost universally abandoned. There is a distinct tendency to regard the Bible less as a book of theological oracles and more as a practical stimulus to religious life. For example,

A careful critical defense of this ideal is to be found in the inaugural address of Professor C. W. Hodge of Princeton, "The Idea of Dogmatic Theology," *Princeton Theological Review*, January, 1908, p. 52.

² A History of New England Theology, p. 543.

³ The following are among the most important of these: Henry C. Sheldon, System of Christian Doctrine (Eaton & Mains, 1903); Joseph Agar Beet, A Manual of Theology (Hodder & Stoughton, 1906); Milton Valentine, Christian Theology (Lutheran Publication Society, 1906); Francis J. Hall, Introduction to Dogmatic Theology (Longmans, Green & Co., 1907), the first of a series of ten volumes, intended to set forth orthodox Anglican theology; Augustus H. Strong, Systematic Theology (three volumes) (American Baptist Publication Society, 1907 and 1908); Milton S. Terry, Biblical Dogmatics: An Exposition of the Principal Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures (Eaton & Mains, 1907).

Dr. Strong in defining inspiration has substituted for his original declaration that the inspired writings constitute "an infallible and sufficient rule of faith and practice," the statement that they are "sufficient, when taken together and interpreted by the same Spirit who inspired them, to lead every honest inquirer to Christ and to salvation." It is almost universally recognized that to base one's theology on a doctrine of inspiration which has been shown to be untenable means to weaken the appeal which it will make to thinking men. But it is evident that if any statements in the Bible are erroneous, some standard of truth must be adopted other than the mere presence of a doctrine in the Bible. To give up the theory of biblical infallibility means to take the first step toward a critical rather than a proof-text method in theology.

The necessity of making this radical change of method has been set forth with utmost clearness by Professor W. N. Clarke.⁵ He shows how impossible it is to use the Bible honestly so long as one considers it all of the same degree of authority. It is necessary for Christian theology to set forth the view of God and of human life which is in harmony with Christ's thought. We should have a Christocentric interpretation of reality rather than a systematization of biblical statements. Such an attempt demands powers of spiritual appreciation as the prime requisite in the theologian. Theology thus becomes not so much a compendium of doctrines as an interpretation of the Christian life and its religious convictions. The resulting freshness and vitality for theology may be admirably seen in Professor Clarke's own textbook6 which has for a decade exercised wide influence. President Henry C. King has also called attention to the task of theological reconstruction, 7 showing that not only the historical interpretation of the Bible, but also the entire modern scientific and philosophical attitude must be reckoned with by the theologian. The new method should include an analysis and justification of religious faith, a historical interpretation of the biblical and Christian

⁴ Cf. edition of 1893, p. 95, with edition of 1907, Vol. I, p. 196.

⁵ The Use of the Scriptures in Theology (Scribners, 1905).

⁶ An Outline of Christian Theology (Scribners, 1898).

⁷ Reconstruction in Theology (Macmillan, 1901; 2d ed., 1904); Theology and the Social Consciousness (Macmillan, 1902).

sources of our Christian view of reality, and the recognition of the social character of all thinking, which furnishes a historical, objective control for theology which is vital because each individual is an element in this social whole. A suggestive discussion of the way in which biblical theology may integrate itself into systematic theology from this point of view was given by Professor Ernest D. Burton in a recent number of the Biblical World.⁸ He defines systematic theology with reference to the end which it seeks, viz., the statement of normative religious truth with a view to guiding religious life aright. Thus the rights of experience are supreme. The Bible must justify its right to be used as a source of systematic theology by convincing men that it portrays and interprets a type of experience of superlative value. From this point of view, the Bible is not the exclusive source of theology, though it is the most important. And its value for theology rests on the power of its content to awaken religious convictions rather than on any specific theory of inspiration.

The attempt to deal with the Bible as a vital element of religious experience has long been familiar to those who have followed the course of Ritschlianism. This school of theology continues to exercise a wide influence. The translations of the third volume of Ritschl's great work into English, and of his little compendium of Christian doctrine designed for instruction in the German schools, as well as the translation of Lobstein's *Introduction to Protestant Dogmatics*, have rendered accessible to those who do not read German some of the influential treatises of this school. The Crown Theological Library has given us a fresh translation of the fourth edition of Herrmann's *Communion with God*, and has put together two addresses of Herrmann in another volume.

^{8 &}quot;The Relation of Biblical to Systematic Theology," Biblical World, December, 1907, p. 418.

⁹ Reconciliation and Justification, translated by Mackintosh and Macaulay (T. & T. Clark, 1900).

¹⁰ Contained in the last part of *The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl*, by Professor A. T. Swing (Longmans, Green & Co., 1901).

¹¹ Translated by Arthur M. Smith, published for the author by the University of Chicago Press, 1902.

¹² The Communion of the Christian with God (Putnam, 1906).

¹³ Faith as Defined by Albrecht Ritschl; and Roman Catholic and Evangelical Morality (Putnam, 1904).

Ritschlianism are tolerably familiar today. It seeks to rescue theology both from a false legalism, which would present the doctrines of the Bible to us as requirements for our faith, and from a false subjectivism, which would cut loose from all revelation. These two false positions it believes can be avoided by defining the task of theology as the scientific exposition of the Christian faith. But this faith arises because the human spirit recognizes in Christ an authoritative revelation of God to which a willing submission is made. Out of the Christian experience, which rests upon the historical revelation of God in Christ, we derive the religious convictions which are to find a place in theology. Thus the older type of Ritschlianism preserves an analogy to the orthodox ideal, in that it makes a unique revelation the source of theology. But only so much of what is objective as can be voluntarily transformed by the religious spirit into living convictions is to appear in theology.¹⁴ But out of the Ritschlian school in Germany there has developed a vounger generation of theologians who find difficulty in making this sharp distinction between the Christian revelation and the course of religious history in general. These younger men are pointing out that Jesus was a historical character, living amid definite historical influences. He cannot be understood, therefore, unless we reproduce the historical situation of which he was a part. When this is done, it is discovered that, however valuable and significant may be the elements of primitive Christianity, these are by no means unparalleled in other religions. Instead of regarding Christianity as a unique revelation, we find it simply one among the religions of human history. It no longer can be said to possess

14 This ideal continues to be vigorously expounded. Among the most important recent publications are J. Kaftan, Zur Dogmatik, a series of articles expounding elements of his previously published Dogmatik, which had been criticized; Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 1903, pp. 96, 114, 214, 457, 519; 1904, pp. 148, 273, since published by Mohr in a single volume; Th. Häring, Der christliche Glaube (Calwer Verlagsverein, 1906); H. H. Wendt, System der christlichen Lehre (Vanderhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1906); Otto Kirn, Grundriss der evangelischen Dogmatik (Deichert, 1907); W. Herrmann: "Christlich-protestantische Dogmatik," Kultur der Gegenwart, Teil I., Abt. IV., pp. 583-632) (Teubner, 1906); "Die Lage und Aufgabe der evangelischen Dogmatik in der Gegenwart" (three articles in Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 1907, pp. 1, 172, and 315).

The influence of Ritschlianism is also distinctly seen in the writings of President King, Professor William Adams Brown, and Principal P. T. Forsyth. In fact, no theologian today can entirely escape that influence.

absolute truth in any historical form. It can merely take a superlative place among the many attempts of man to discover the nature of God. We are to discover the nature of religion, not by exegesis of biblical oracles, or even by consulting evangelical experience as an isolated thing, but by studying religion in its universal historical manifestations. Thus far, this new school has produced no systematic theology. Its constructive work would more properly be called science of religion than systematic theology in any case.¹⁵

The older type of Ritschlianism is still a dominant influence among systematic theologians. But the somewhat technical Christocentric basis has been made more flexible by a group of theologians in America who consult historical and evangelical Christian experience as the actual source of theology.¹⁶ The first trait which strikes

15 The prominent representatives of this religionsgeschichtliche school are Wrede, Weinel, Bousset, Wernle, and Troeltsch. Their chief work is in the realm of history; but they intermingle history with very definite doctrinal suggestions and conclusions. We need only refer to such books as Wernle's The Beginnings of Christianity or Bousset's Jesus to indicate how a survey of history may be made to yield a very definite theological attitude. Troeltsch is the theologian of the group, but has as yet published no system of doctrine. We may mention the following as giving his point of view: Die wissenschaftliche Lage und ihre Anforderung an die Theologie (Mohr, 1900), Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte (Mohr, 1902); also two contributions to Die Kultur der Gegenwart (Teubner, 1906), Teil I., Abteilung IV., entitled, "Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit" (pp. 253-458) and "Wesen der Religion und der Religionswissenschaft" (pp. 461-91). Bousset's What is Religion? (Putnam, 1907) should also be mentioned as a suggestive indication of the method of approach to theological problems adopted by this "religio-historical" school. Possibly the constructive sketch of a theological system in Sabatier's Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit (McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904) would find closest affiliation here, though the influence of Schleiermacher's psychological analysis is quite as evident.

16 This ideal may be said to have begun in this country with the publication of Professor Lewis F. Stearns's books in the early part of the last decade of the nineteenth century. Among the most significant recent publications are the following: William N. Clarke, An Outline of Christian Theology (Scribners, 1898); Olin F. Curtis, The Christian Faith Personally Given in a System of Doctrine (Eaton & Mains, 1905); George A. Gordon, Ultimate Conceptions of Faith (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903); George B. Stevens, The Christian Doctrine of Salvation (Scribners, 1905); Clarence A. Beckwith, The Realities of Christian Theology (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906); William Adams Brown, Christian Theology in Outline (Scribners, 1907). In the last three books mentioned we see the very marked development of the use of history as a primary instrument in determining the meaning of traditional doctrines, and in formulating the constructive problems of theology for today.

the reader in treatises of this class is the astonishingly attractive nature of the contents. The formal analyses of the older textbooks have been abandoned. The first problem is to show the relation between religious experience and theological belief. All doctrines are considered in relation to this human experience. The background for the understanding of theology has more and more come to consist in a sympathetic historical interpretation of historical expressions of belief, biblical and ecclesiastical. As a result, one sees how the doctrines of the church were rooted in genuine human experience and how they served to interpret that experience. As historical circumstances of life change, the expression of theology changes; but history remains always an indispensable guide in our religious thinking. From this point of view, doctrines are not imposed upon the believer as divine requirements, but are offered as helps to the solution of actual spiritual problems.

One of the consequences of applying this test of experience is seen in the changed character of the contents of theologies. The older debates about the divine decrees, or about the exact fate of those who die in impenitence, or about the number and function of angels have vanished. Our experience can give us no information on these subjects. Discussion of them, therefore, becomes profitless. No effort is made to have the content of systematic theology coextensive with that of biblical theology. The older theologies, for example, conscientiously elaborated angelology, just because the Bible made assertions about angels. Dr. Strong, in his last edition, devotes twenty-one closely printed pages to the subject. But in most of the books which we are here considering, no reference is made to angels, save in the way of historical exposition. Thus the framework of the traditional theology is dissolving under the new test.¹⁷ It may be expected that treatises on theology will become less and less bound by the older method of arrangement, and will display a greater individuality and variety of literary form as the vitality of the newer point of view comes more and more into prominence.

The theological sensation of the past year has been the "New

¹⁷ One of the most interesting applications of the test of experience to theology is to be found in the last work of the conservative theologian, E. H. Johnson, entitled *Christian Agnosticism* (Griffith & Rowland, 1907).

Theology" movement called out by the publication of R. J. Campbell's book by that name. 18 Mr. Campbell himself was largely influenced by the Hegelianism of T. H. Green; but his point of view found a welcome among many who have come to feel that a study of the realities in the present world of experience can bring us to surer conclusions than can the attempt to penetrate into a supernatural realm different in structure and activity from the world which we know. The God of the New Theology is the immanent Power underlying all that is, rather than the transcendent sovereign who makes his will known by official decrees. Religion from this point of view means the conscious sharing in the life of God on the part of man. Theology means the interpretation of all that exists as the activity of the immanent God. It is evident that there is danger that such theology may favor an aesthetic appreciation of the universe, rather than a recognition of the moral delinquency of man. From the point of view of the older individualism, this danger seems very real. But the doctrine of divine immanence readily transforms itself into a deep concern for the social welfare of man. Hence, what the New Theology loses on the side of individual sin against an individual God, it gains in its increased sensitiveness to social sin. And social sin is the most vivid form of wrong in the consciousness of our day. Hence the New Theology has an enviable opportunity for proclaiming an evangelical message.

In this connection, mention may be made of the suggestive attempts which are being made to interpret the doctrine of God in accord with the idea of immanence.¹⁹ It is interesting to see how many of our

18 It would be impossible to mention all the articles and books dealing with the movement. The following sufficiently represent the various attitudes toward this modern monistic interpretation of Christianity: R. J. Campbell, The New Theology (Macmillan, 1907); J. Warschauer, The New Evangel (James Clarke, 1907); W. L. Walker, What about the New Theology? (T. &. T. Clark, 1907); Charles Gore, The New Theology and the Old Religion (Murray, 1907); Frank Ballard, New Theology; its Meaning and Value (Kelly, 1907); R. R. Rodgers, New Theology Problems (Warne, 1907); Newton H. Marshall, "The Philosophical Method of the New Theology," Expositor, July and August, 1907; Anon., "The New Theology," Church Quarterly Review, July, 1907; Douglas C. MacIntosh, "The New Theology," Baptist Review and Expositor, October, 1907, pp. 600 ff.; W. D. Mackenzie, "The New Theology," Hartford Seminary Record, July, 1907, pp. 236 ff.

¹⁰ Among the recent utterances on the subject we may mention the following: Borden P. Bowne, *The Divine Immanence* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905); Herbert

religious thinkers have outgrown the traditional conception of God. A Divine Being who must express himself primarily through a few miracles in the course of history and whose will is to be found in an isolated collection of writings is not big enough to meet the demands of modern faith. The religion of a man who thinks in categories of present-day science demands a God whose presence is more universally accessible. As has been said, this demand for an immanent God is often in danger of lacking moral fiber. Professor McGiffert, however, has shown²⁰ that if the substance-conception of reality (which is characteristic of all immanent theologies which build on Spinoza) be replaced by the dynamic conception of purpose, as demanded by Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl, the conception of immanence may satisfy metaphysical and ethical demands at the same time.

Another characteristic of today is the increasing interest shown in the attempt to state theology in terms of the doctrine of evolution. The works of Drummond, Lyman Abbott, and Griffith-Jones have in years past found wide circles of readers.²¹ Recently three suggestive books dealing with this problem have appeared.²² The book of Dr. Schmid's is significant, because the author has long enjoyed a reputation for orthodoxy. He still thinks, for the most part, in terms of a dualistic world. But he is quite prepared to welcome the evolutionary hypothesis and to show that it by no means necessitates the abandonment of Christian theism. Sir Oliver Lodge, on the other hand, represents the strictly monistic view of modern science. All the doctrines of theology are to be interpretations of the data which we gain by inductive study of the realities of this world. The

A. Youtz, "Three Conceptions of God," American Journal of Theology, July, 1907; Henry Jones, "Divine Immanence," Hibbert Journal, July, 1907, pp. 744 ff.; A. C. McGiffert, "Divine Immanence and Christian Purpose," Hibbert Journal, July, 1907, pp. 768 ff.

^{20 &}quot;Modern Ideas of God," Harvard Theological Review, January, 1908.

²² Henry Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World (1883) and The Ascent of Man (Jas. Potts, 1894); Lyman Abbott, The Theology of an Evolutionist (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1897); Griffith-Jones, The Ascent through Christ (Gorham, 1901); Newman Smyth, Through Science to Faith (Scribners, 1904).

²² Rudolph Schmid, The Scientific Creed of a Theologian (A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1906); Oliver Lodge, The Substance of Faith Allied with Science (Harper, 1907); W. L. Walker, Christian Theism and Spiritual Monism (T. & T. Clark, 1906) (deals with the philosophical rather than the biological doctrine of evolution).

fact that the book was put forth with the purpose of stating a minimum or interdenominational faith, to which the representatives of different schools and sects were to add whatever seemed important, will account for the somewhat cold impression which the book makes. But it is questionable whether man actually in his religious moods thinks of himself primarily as the product of evolution. Is this not the doctrine of a scientific specialist? In starting from this point of view, a theologian is apt to construct a system as formal and external as is the case if one starts with the idea of man as a descendant of Adam.

Another interesting movement in theology has crystallized during the past two or three years. It registers the change of view which conservative theologians have felt to be necessary if theology is to keep in touch with scholarship in other realms. The representatives of this progressive orthodoxy have taken the name "Modern-Positive" to designate their position.²³ As is indicated by the term, the attempt is made to interpret the positive gospel in modern terms. In the place of the spirit of denial or at least of questioning which is attributed to liberal theology the new school would sound a positive note. The gospel is regarded as something objectively provided for the salvation of men. Theology is thus not to be derived by an analysis of religious experience as such. The Christian faith means that a definite objective revelation is to be appropriated by the believer. What is needed is not so much a "new theology" as a restatement of the truths of the gospel. Most of the representatives of the school approach more or less closely to the original Ritschlian position, correlating valuejudgments and objective fact in such a way as to avoid either pure subjectivism or barren scholasticism. In general, freedom of interpretation is allowed in every realm save where it touches the metaphysical

²³ The important works of this type of thought are: Seeberg, Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion (published in 1902 by Deichert, as a counter-exposition of Christianity, in view of Harnack's lectures on Das Wesen des Christentums, 4th ed., 1906); an English translation is about to be published by Williams & Norgate; Theodor Kastan, Moderne Theologie des alten Glaubens (J. Bergas Verlag, 1906); R. H. Grützmacher, Studien zur systematischen Theologie (Deichert, 1905); Modern-positive Vorträge (Deichert, 1906); Karl Beth, Die Moderne und die Prinzipien der Theologie (Trowitzsch, 1907); E. Schaeder, Die Christologie der Bekenntnisse und die moderne Theologie (Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1905); Fr. Kropatscheck, Die Ausgaben der Christusgläubige Theologie in der Gegenwart (Runge, 1905); P. T. Forsyth, Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind (A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1907).

deity of Christ or the ontological significance of the death of Christ. Even here there is division of opinion as to whether the virgin birth must be affirmed in order to save a proper Christology. A somewhat original position, which is nevertheless in general harmony with the modern-positive school, has been hinted at by Professor Shailer Mathews.²⁴ He believes that by the use of strictly historical method one can distinguish between the facts of the New Testament religious experience and the interpretation of those facts in the first-century current theological, political, and philosophical categories. After discovering the objective facts in this historically scientific way, we are ready to reinterpret these facts in language suited to our day. Theology thus will be on an objective basis, and will escape the reproach of subjectivism to which it is subject when it builds purely on religious experience. At present this modern-positive school is being severely criticized both by the traditionalists who feel that too much has been surrendered, and by the liberals who feel that the retention of the authority of certain unverifiable elements of past history is incompatible with the genuine scientific promotion of theology. movement, however, is significant of the changed theological attitude of conservative scholars.

The above brief sketch of some of the main movements in the field of systematic theology makes it evident that scholars in this field are rapidly abandoning that ideal of dogmatic systematization which was inherited from scholasticism and which is so ill adapted to correlate itself with the scientific methods which are now universally accepted in other fields. Less and less does the theologian think of his task as the defense of a system. More and more is he assuming the inquiring attitude which leads to a sympathetic appreciation of the work of the scientific spirit in other realms. It is not too much to say that the beginning of the twentieth century has seen the definite attempt on the part of systematic theologians to approach their task with a spirit and method which should lead to a genuine respect for theology in the scientific world, and which should be increasingly fruitful in helping to a sane expression of religious convictions in this perplexing period of intellectual and spiritual readjustment.

²⁴ The Messianic Hope in the New Testament (University of Chicago Press, 1905), pp. 317 ff.; The Church and the Changing Order (Macmillan, 1907), chap. ii.

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT VIII. ATONEMENT AS CONCEIVED BY THE EARLY CHURCH

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The title of this chapter might easily be challenged. For it must be admitted at the outset that we have no documents of which we can certainly affirm that they reflect the ideas of the early church on atonement, if by the early church is meant the pre-Pauline church or the church unaffected by Paulinism. Yet we are not without documents which, however incompletely they may represent to us the early non-Pauline Christian thinking, do at least afford us evidences of a type of thought not derived from Paul. The speeches in the early part of Acts certainly represent a type of thought about the death of Jesus and its relation to the salvation of men which is simpler than that of Paul and which can hardly be supposed to have come from him. Nor is the Epistle of James open to suspicion of having been produced under the positive influence of Paul. though it is alleged by weighty authority among modern scholars to be one of the latest books of the New Testament, it seems more in accordance with the evidence to assign its type of thought, if not the actual writing of the book, to a very early period. We venture therefore to class together the early chapters of Acts and the Epistle of James, and to ask what evidence they afford as to the thought of the early non-Pauline church about atonement.

The type of sin almost uniformly spoken of in the early part of Acts is resistance to the Holy Spirit and rejection of God's messengers, manifest conspicuously in the putting of Jesus to death. This is Peter's charge against the Jews, which Stephen reiterates, associating it (as Jesus had done in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen) with the rejection of the prophets by the earlier Jews, and attributing both to resistance to the Holy Spirit.

In James the sins reproved are of a more general character, selfishness, love of the world, greed, oppression of the poor, a merci-

less spirit. Two passages are, however, of special significance: "To him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not it is sin" (4:17), and, "Judgment is without mercy to him that showeth no mercy" (2:13). The former of these finds sin in the rejection of truth known, the latter recognizes both God's hostility to sin and his willingness to show mercy to those who are themselves disposed to mercy.

In the matter of temple sacrifices the early church took no decided step. Retaining the consciousness of relationship to Israel, with which at first it did not occur to them to break, they naturally continued to offer sacrifices, yet attached to them no special significance in relation to the forgiveness of the sins for which men were under the condemnation of God. They were a traditional part of worship, perhaps a means of atoning for unwitting transgression or neglect of ritual requirements, but in the main probably simply a part of the requirement of the law. But it is evident that they were not conceived of as a basis of forgiveness. In none of the passages in which the speakers in the Book of Acts answer the question, What shall man do to escape from the penalty of his sins, is sacrifice mentioned, but in all cases the inquirer is bidden to repent of his sins and turn to God, believing in Christ.

As concerns the significance of the death of Jesus, and the conditions of forgiveness, there is no lack of testimony:

Him being delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye by the hands of lawless men did crucify and slay, whom God raised up, having loosed the pangs of death (Acts 2:23-25).

The God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob hath glorified his servant Jesus; whom ye delivered up and denied before the face of Pilate, when he had determined to release him. But ye denied the Holy and the Righteous One and asked for a murderer to be granted to you and killed the Prince of life, whom God raised from the dead (Acts 3:13-15).

But the things which God foreshowed by the mouth of all the prophets that his anointed should suffer, he thus fulfilled (Acts 3:18).

In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even in him doth this man stand here before you whole. He is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, who was made the head of the corner. And in none other is there salvation; for neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men, wherein we must be saved (Acts 4:10-12).

For of a truth in this city against thy holy Servant Jesus, whom thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, were gathered together to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel fore-ordained to come to pass (Acts 4:27, 28).

The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a prince and a savior for to give repentance and remission of sins to Israel (Acts 5:30 f.).

Now the place of the scripture which he was reading was this:

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; And as a lamb before his shearers is dumb, So he openeth not his mouth: In his humiliation his judgment is taken away: His generation who shall declare? For his life is taken from the earth.

And the eunuch answered Philip and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other? And Philip opened his mouth, and beginning from this scripture, preached unto him Jesus (Acts 8:32-36).

And it shall be that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved (Acts 2:21).

Repent ye and be baptized, every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38-40).

Repent ye therefore and turn again that your sins may be blotted out, so that there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord (Acts 3:19).

Unto you first God, having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you in turning away every one of you from your sin (Acts 3:26).

Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him (Acts 10: 34, 35).

The word which he sent unto the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ (Acts 10:36).

To him bear all the prophets witness that through his name every one that believeth in him shall receive remission of sins (Acts 10:43).

They held their peace and glorified God, saying, Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life (Acts 11:18).

In these passages taken from the speeches which the author ascribes to Peter, Stephen, and Philip, the death of Jesus is characterized as an act of wickedness and murder on the part of those who put him to death. This is repeatedly affirmed and the charge brought home to the consciences of the Jews before whom Peter and Stephen made their defense of themselves and their message.

On the other hand, it is looked upon as predetermined by God. The motive of the repeated assertion to this effect is not an insistence upon a doctrine of predestination, but a defense of Jesus against the assumption, natural to a Jewish mind, that the death of Jesus on the cross indicated his rejection by God. As against this interpretation of Jesus' death, the early Christian preachers contended that this death was predetermined by God, that it was a part of the divine plan. This assertion, the motive of which was primarily apologetic, naturally became a part of the positive faith of Christians, a positive argument for believing in Jesus as the Servant of God, appointed to be Lord and Savior.

This conviction that the death of Jesus was predetermined of God is evidently based upon, or at least associated with, the persuasion that this death was in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Thus Peter in Acts 4:10 quotes the language of Ps. 118:22 concerning the stone rejected by the builders, and Philip finds in Isa., chap. 53, and its picture of the suffering Servant of Jehovah a text from which he could preach Jesus to the eunuch. It is significant also that the usual title for Jesus in these early chapters of Acts is παι̂ς Κυρίου, Servant of the Lord, an expression which is almost certainly derived from Isa., chaps. 42 ff. The very employment of this name of Jesus, found in the gospels only once or twice, and quite as rare in other parts of the New Testament, indicates that the early church laid hold of these chapters as furnishing an explanation of the death of Jesus. By this term and these chapters they turned his rejection and suffering from a reproach into an argument in his favor. By this application to Jesus of the prophetic description of the Servant of Jehovah, however, the early church not only turned the edge of the argument of their opponents against his messiahship, but evidently found also confirmation of their faith in him as Lord and Savior. In him as the Servant of Jehovah they preached salvation, exhorting men to repent of their sin, especially the sin of rejecting him, and to believe in him; and assured them that in him and no other was there salvation, God granting forgiveness to all who thus repented and believed, even to the very murderers of his Servant Jesus Christ.

It would be easy of course to assume that because the apostles

found in Jesus' suffering the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the Servant of Jehovah, therefore they found in this predicate or in Isa., chap. 53, all those ideas which the Christian church of later centuries found there and applied to Jesus. But the Book of Acts does not take this step, and if we are not to go beyond our evidence, we must forbear to ascribe to these early days the ideas of a later period not here expressed. And when we consider the situation in which they were placed, and the particular assertion respecting Jesus which they were then called upon to defend, we seem to have the less reason to go beyond the evidence. The simple, oft-repeated teaching which the Book of Acts reports as that of the pre-Pauline church is that forgiveness is granted even to the greatest of sinners when he repents of his sin, turns to the Lord, and believes in Jesus whom God sent to turn men from their sins (2:21, 38-40; 3:19, 26; 4:12; 5:30, 31; 8:22; 10:34, 35, 36, 43; 11:18). He who rejects Iesus will find no other savior. For though baptism is mentioned in one passage (2:38-40), it is evidently as the outward expression of the acceptance of Jesus, and indispensable in the sense that a refusal thus to confess Jesus would under the circumstances be presumptive evidence that one did not really accept him.

Fear of God and the doing of righteousness are mentioned in one passage as the ground of acceptance with God (10:34, 35). This latter statement of the matter is significant as indicating why repentance is the condition of forgiveness. What God desires is a heart that loves righteousness and a life which practices righteousness. For the sinner this involves repentance, and for the rejecter of Jesus it involves acceptance of him.

In James, forgiveness is promised to those who repent and confess their sin, exaltation to those who humble themselves before God, salvation to those who put away their wickedness and receive with meekness the implanted word, and acceptance with God to those whose faith manifests itself in works. Faith is in the main conceived of as faith in God, rather than specifically as faith in Jesus Christ, though the latter expression of it is also spoken of. The death of Jesus is nowhere spoken of in James.

The teaching of the early church concerning sin and atonement, therefore, so far as it is reflected in the first half of Acts and the letter of James is substantially as follows:

- 1. That which separates between God and man and brings upon men the wrath of God is resistance to truth, manifest in unkindness and injustice to men, in falsehood and perversity, and most of all, as respects the Jews of Jesus' own day, in their rejection of Jesus, the Servant of the Lord. On this wicked and untoward generation there is impending the judgment of God.
- 2. To deliver men from their sins God sent his Servant to turn men from their sin and to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins. The death of Jesus was at the same time a fulfilment of the divine purpose disclosed in prophecy and an act of consummate wickedness on the part of those who brought it about. The suffering of Jesus was vicarious, in that he suffered innocently and on behalf of, for the benefit of, the guilty, but is not described as expiatory. Nor is it set in any special relation to temple sacrifice, whether as supplementing it or supplanting it. The possibility that it was thought of as having the same function as the sacrifices and hence as taking the place of them is obviously excluded by the fact that while preaching that the death of Jesus was in fulfilment of prophecy and that he, raised from the dead, was a prince and savior, they continued their temple worship as heretofore. And that while thus preaching the death of Jesus and continuing the temple worship they preached forgiveness of sins on the basis of faith, repentance, and righteousness shows that neither in the temple sacrifices nor in the death of Jesus as displacing the sacrifices and having expiatory value did they find the basis of reconciliation with God.
- 3. Men are saved from the judgment of God, however great their sins, by repentance and turning to God, accepting Jesus Christ in faith. "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." But for those who reject the Lord as Christ there is no way of salvation. It is but another statement of the matter to say that faith must show itself in works, and that he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to God.

Such apparently was the simple conception of the significance of Jesus' death and of the basis of forgiveness which was held in the early church. It lacks much that was subsequently in Christian thought; but in its simplicity and its effectiveness it closely resembles that faith which common, everyday, untheologically minded Christians have held probably in all the Christian centuries.

THE THREEFOLD TEMPTATION OF CHRIST MATT. 4:1-11

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Before considering the special character of the temptations that came to Christ in the wilderness of Judah, we are confronted with the question of the general interpretation of the story. How are we to understand the passage generally in relation to historical fact? we to view it as literal truth, or as a painting of the imagination? it prosaic fact, or poetic fancy, or, in some measure, both? That is the first question to be faced. No doubt it presents itself with most force to the Protestant Christian, who believes that the gospel is addressed to the mind as well as to the heart; but it has excited the interest of all the ages. Innumerable solutions have been offered: we only speak roughly when we mention three general points of view as typical of the rest. The first and the most prevalent opinion is that the story is throughout literally and prosaically historical, and deals with certain outward occurrences in which Christ and the tempter met face to face, and traveled from place to place, and interchanged words, and quoted Scripture to one another. The second is that the story is throughout unhistorical: a fanciful legendary enlargement to fill out the blank in Christ's life in the period preceding his public ministry; valueless, therefore, so far as the history of the Savior's life is concerned. The third view stands between these two extremes, and gives the story a pictorial interpretation, treating it not as outward history, but as the pictured history of what took place veritably in Christ's mind.

Shall we say then that this story is literal fact, or legendary fancy, or the picture of a real spiritual experience?

The first, the literal interpretation, has now been very widely abandoned. The details of the story point of themselves to some other interpretation than the sheerly literal. Even John Calvin doubted of the literal existence of any mountain from which all the

kingdoms of the world could be seen in a moment of time, and therefore he inclined to the view that this part of the story at least must be interpreted as a vision. But it is not this part but all the parts of the story that require a more spiritual rendering. With the best of will to believe in the literal Satan who "goeth about seeking whom he may devour," we cannot readily admit that he has the power of conveying the people of God from place to place. Such powers have indeed been ascribed to him in the legends of superstitious imagination; but even then the makers of these legends had usually some spiritual meaning in the background of their thought; and in any case it is reasonable to argue that as Satan does not now exercise any such power, he does not and never did possess the power. But—what is a still more vital objection—the appearance of an outward literal tempter would have quite nullified the force of the temptation. Had Satan appeared in his own person before Christ, there would have been little temptation to listen to his suggestions. Temptations lose all their force when they are clearly seen to be of the devil, and so Christ would have repelled these promptings of Satan without effort, for the very reason that it was Satan that proposed them. If, then, the temptations recorded were real temptations that tried even Christ, we must suppose that their originator was hidden and that Christ felt them as the visions and desires of his own heart; prompted by no devil, but by his own sympathy with men, and faith in God, and high ambition.

But if so, are we shut up to the other extreme, and obliged to declare the whole story to be quite unhistorical? A pictorial narrative is not therefore mythical and unreal. It is quite possible, and we are entitled to hold that what we have here in pictorial form is still history, namely the history of a conflict that took place in Christ's mind at the beginning of his ministry: a conflict both important in its nature and decisive in its issues. We shall be strengthened in this view if we consider how natural these temptations were in the circumstances of Christ's life, and especially in his opening ministry. If we believe that Christ was subject to the laws of human growth and spiritual development we naturally expect to find some severe moral contest in the beginning of his ministry, when he felt called for the first time to proclaim the kingdom of God. For does not every one pass through

the valley of temptation on entering upon his life's work? Sooner or later every one must pass from the life of innocence and instinct to the mature life of principle; and before the life of principle is established, there is a contest to determine what principle is to rule. The great questions of life force themselves to the front with irresistible power, demanding a practical answer; and every one experiences a struggle and a conversion either to what is holy or to what is unholy, either to the service of God or to the service of Mammon.

Once to every man and nation

Comes the moment to decide

In the strife of truth with falsehood

For the good or evil side.

That supreme moment of life is the supreme moment of temptation; and it is then that Satan marshals all his forces, and plies us with fairest argument, that he may find our vulnerable spot. And was there nothing parallel to this in Christ's life? How could he be really human, if he had no experience, at the entrance of his career, of the same fiery furnace of temptation? He who "grew in wisdom," and "was in all points tempted like as we are," must have been tempted sorely throughout his ministry by the expectations of the Jewish people, tempted sorely to propose to himself some lower ideal for his messianic work. And if he did not succumb to these in the hour of danger or of death, must it not have been that he had already battled with them at the beginning of his ministry, and had already in principle overcome them all, when he first set the divine ideal before him, and girded himself for his life's work? In short, the view that commends itself as most reasonable is this, that the story of the temptation of Christ, though pictorially represented, has a real foundation in his actual life, both in that decisive hour when he conquered the desires of the flesh and of the mind and set himself to proclaim the pure kingdom of God, and also in those later temptations which arose in the course of his ministry, and tended to turn him from his mission. In a word, we have here a picture of the soul-struggle of Christ, which he had to endure both at the beginning and also all through the course of his public ministry.

These considerations may help us to enter more thoroughly and fruitfully into the special meaning of the temptations as here narrated.

We take them as temptations that came to him in the prospect of his opening ministry, and his messianic work. The first two were assaults upon Christ's faith; the last was concerned with the Messianic ideal.

The *first temptation* was an assault upon Christ's faith, to lead him to distrust his own calling as the Son of God and the Messiah of the people. "He was an hungered and the tempter came and said: If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread."

Christ had retired into the wilderness to be alone with himself and God, and to strengthen his soul for his life's calling. The wilderness around him, those bleak forsaken wastes, and his own weariness and hunger, reminded him of the want and poverty of his nation. different were the hard matter-of-fact circumstances of Israel from that ideal of the messianic time, when the wilderness should rejoice and blossom as the rose, when instead of the thorn should come up the fir tree and instead of the brier should come up the myrtle tree, when peace and plenty should fill the land? Must not the Messiah of Israel accomplish all that the prophets proclaimed, or prove the falseness of his claim? How could he be the Messiah, unless he put an end at one stroke to the poverty and privation and want that prevailed in Israel? How could he himself be allowed to hunger and thirst in the wilderness, if he had indeed received this high calling of God to be the Savior of the people? Could he be the promised shepherd, who could neither satisfy his own hunger nor feed his flock? If Christ were human some such thoughts must have passed through his mind. Doubts as to his calling must have frequently come to him if only because they were suggested from without. The question came to him once from a lonely prison: "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?" The outward signs seemed wanting to John the Baptist as he lay pining in prison: Art thou he that should come, the foretold Messiah indeed, to relieve the oppressed, and right the wrong? And vet Christ had to leave his forerunner to his fate. How little the outward circumstances of Christ's own life seemed to harmonize with the prophetic ideal! The prophets spoke of messianic triumphs, and of a people all righteous and obedient to their king; but there was little of outward triumph in Christ's life; his Messianic activity led him to the cross, and there again the doubt was suggested to him in the jeering cry: "If thou be the Son of God, come down

from the cross! If thou be Christ, save thyself and us!" But Christ had faced and overcome this spirit of unbelief from the very outset. He lived too near to God to have any personal doubt as to the Father's promises and purposes regarding his people. If privation and hardship still continued, entailing suffering both on the Messiah and the children of the kingdom, they must be permitted by God as serving a divine end. These things must be part of the necessary bread of human life, wisely designed to make the Messiah perfect through suffering, and to lift the minds of his followers to higher things. The people therefore must spend some time in the wilderness, before the promised land was theirs. That was the law of progress now that the kingdom was at hand, as it had been when the children of Israel left their house of bondage in Egypt; first the spiritual training, then the crown of happiness. And so Christ could make his own and apply to his followers those ancient words of the prophet to Israel: "Thou shalt remember all the way the Lord thy God led thee, in the wilderness: to humble thee and to prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end. And he humbled thee and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna from heaven, that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

This temptation is no doubt recorded for our encouragement. The stones of difficulty and trial will not remove at a word of command, or a word of prayer; but if we endure bravely they will become bread of life to us. When therefore outward want or suffering comes upon us; when the soul feels itself in a dry place and parched with drought; when our external circumstances are hard and our prospects lowering; and when we begin to question the ways of God, and to ask why he should thus abandon us; let us pluck up courage from this victory of Christ; and accepting in his spirit the hardships of life as seeing the final end of good, let us learn to build upon that word of eternal truth, that "man doth not live by bread only, but by every word of God."

The second temptation was also an assault upon Christ's faith, but from the other side, namely, to lead him to overconfidence and presumption. "The devil takes him into the holy city, and sets him on a pinnacle of the temple, and saith unto him: If thou be the Son of God (and know that thou art in God's hands), cast thyself down from hence!"

This is a picture of all false and fanatical faith, which disregards the ordinary laws of life, and the means God has given to preserve it, and presumptuously claims the special intervention of the Deity. Might not Christ as the Messiah have been specially tempted to such an overweening faith? There were other self-styled Messiahs of that day among the Jews; and they fell one and all into this snare. We are told of the false prophet Theudas, that he gathered a large number of followers after him, and marched them toward the Jordan, assuring them that as a proof of his divine mission, he would lead them across the river dryshod! With similar presumption a certain Egyptian Iew led thousands of Zealots into the wilderness, and promised them that at his mere word the walls of Jerusalem would fall down flat, and give them a free and triumphant entrance into the city! These promises proved vain and illusory, and as many as hearkened to them were scattered and brought to nought. The same temptation came to Christ. "Show us a sign from heaven," was the cry of the people! If you are the Messiah, reveal your greatness! It seemed a sign of weakness that the Messiah did not presume more than ordinary men on God's special assistance and care. But the moderation of Christ in the use of extraordinary means is precisely what distinguished him from all false prophets. He would give the people demanding it no sign from heaven, but told them instead to read the signs of the times, and to seek the divine elsewhere. Nor did he presume personally upon the divine protection in his conflicts with the Pharisees. While trusting in the heavenly Father, he used all ordinary precautions against the assaults of his enemies. He knew that his enemies could not take him till his hour was come, but he knew also that his Father meant him to use all the ordinary means of self-preservation.

That Christ triumphed over this temptation, which proved the snare of other prophets, was due to a fundamental difference between his ideal and theirs. These other prophets were proposing to found an earthly kingdom on the ruins of the Roman Empire; and for that forsooth they required both signs from heaven to make the people believe in its possibility, and continuous miraculous interventions to

lead them to victory over their irresistible foes. But the empire that Christ came to found in men's hearts did not require any outward signs or portents, such as the false prophets promised and the people eagerly desired. It was a kingdom that should come without much observation in the outward world, and should win its triumph on earth by the spiritual signs of patience and meekness and self-sacrifice.

This leads to the *third temptation*, concerning Christ's royal Messianic ideal. "The devil takes him up into an exceeding high mountain, and shows him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and saith unto him, All these things will I give thee; if thou wilt fall down and worship me, it shall all be thine."

Christ was called from the first to choose between worldly and spiritual empire. And here again there was no visionary tempter needed; the great tempter was the Jewish people. They desired and hoped for a deliverer that should break the voke of Rome, and give them the pre-eminent place among the nations. They would have hailed with acclamation such a deliverer, and reverenced him as their king and the son of God! They would have shouted Hosannas in his praise, and followed him with enthusiasm to battle and death! Yet now—and it must have been at the beginning of his ministry— Christ turned this temptation forever aside. He had the vision of a greater kingdom, and mightier empire still, to be attained even through trial and opposition and death: a universal kingdom of faith, hope, and brotherhood, that far surpassed all Jewish ambitions. In that pure and heavenly ideal all narrow patriotism dissolved and all personal ambition was quenched. It was now his meat and drink to establish the spiritual kingdom of God; and having once put his hand to the plough he could not look back upon any lower, personal, or national ideal. "Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

The same choice is set before us all; and the same temptation comes to us to prefer the earthly ideal to the heavenly and eternal. Whether we are entering upon our life-work, or well advanced in it, the choice is offered us, and the decision more or less definitely made: either for some narrower ideal, limited and earthly, and with self not far from the center, or for the larger ideal of the kingdom of God. We all seek a kingdom somewhere; we have all certain powers and

cravings and ideals; and our kingdom is where these powers and ideals are satisfied. What kingdom have you chosen as your ambition? what ideal are you seeking to realize?

The future hides in it gladness and sorrow;
We press still through;
Nought that abides in it daunting us—onward.
And solemn before us, veiled, the dark Portal,
Goal of all mortal
Perplexing the bravest with doubt and misgiving.
But heard are the voices, heard are the Sages,
The worlds and the ages;—
"Choose well, your choice is brief and yet endless."

No doubt the choice is a hard one, especially when everything that makes life attractive is set on the one side, and God and goodness alone on the other. And the temptation to look back comes even to the Christian who has made his choice, and is seeking to make the treasures of the kingdom of God increasingly his own. The kingdom of evil has still its power in the world; and the Christian is tempted at times to repine at the trials heaped upon him, or at his want of worldly advancement. He begins to think, like the Baptist in his lonely prison, that the kingdom is still far off which promises to the meek the inheritance of the earth; that it is the servants of Mammon, the avaricious, ambitious, unscrupulous, who win in the race and that righteousness doesn't pay. So far as this is true, we must endeavor to accept calmly the hardship implied; we are called to follow our master. he passed through suffering, persecution and death in order to establish the kingdom, God may well suffer us to endure hardship for the further promotion of it, and to prove our faithfulness. But let us not exaggerate the power of evil in the world. For Satan's kingdom has more glitter than gold; its enjoyments are temporary, and more in appearance than in substance. Whereas the treasure of the kingdom of God is like capital that goes on steadily increasing, and will yield an increasing interest of happiness and joy, both now and in the ages to come. Both the present and the future are promised to the man who seeks the kingdom of God; for it is to God and not to Satan that belong "the kingdom and the power and the glory." "Seek ve first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all other things will be added unto you."

Book Reviews

The Formation of the New Testament. By George Hooper Ferris, Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1907. Pp. 281. \$0.90.

Rev. George H. Ferris, A. M., a Baptist minister of Philadelphia, has written a book, *The Formation of the New Testament*, and the American Baptist Publication Society has published it. In it the author has endeavored "to trace the conflict between the early principle of an 'open vision' and the ecclesiastical principle of a 'closed canon,' trying to avoid the confusion of thought that comes from a failure to keep the two ideas distinct." He has succeeded. He has given the results of his study in clear flexible English, that never declines and never wearies the reader. This is a piece of excellent theological writing.

In the opening chapter he shows us that a New Testament church is a church without a New Testament. It was the same tendency which manifested itself in the closing of the canon that afterward issued in the authoritative hierarchy, the authoritative pope, of the Roman Catholic church. The author explains that there was a felt need of a canon because the church had to deal with the speculative aberrations of the converted Greek philosophers, the non-speculative aberrations of Marcion, and the irresponsible religious enthusiasms of the Montanists. Doubtless a canon was a necessity. But the author cannot but deplore the necessity, and he has no confidence in the critical ability, and scant confidence in the sincerity, of the Fathers who made the selection. Apostolic authorship was deemed the necessary condition of the reception of a book into the Canon. Acts of the Apostles was invoked by Irenaeus in order to prove that Paul was authorized by the apostles at Jerusalem. Gal. 2:5 was changed by them to the extraordinary reading, "For an hour I gave place by subjection." So upon the authority of the Jerusalem apostles, the Pauline writings were accepted. And Hebrews was finally accepted only as being Pauline. Altogether the reasons for the formation of the canon lay in the desire of the hierarchy to secure a norm of speculative homogeneity. This norm was apostolicity or apostolic appointment. As apostolic authorship gave authority to the books, so also the books in turn supported the claims of the hierarchy to apostolic foundation. And as the author hates a hierarchy, he does not love a canon. On p. 103 he says:

The baneful and pernicious notion that every doctrine and every practice of the church must somehow find apostolic authority, even if it must twist passages out of their context in order to do it, and find marvelous absurdities in numbers and trivial objects, like shoe-laces and whip-cords, utterly destroyed the sense of perspective in the gospels, and led the church away from the great spiritual and ethical message of its Master. So far did it wander that it has not yet returned. The idea is still widely current that the church must carry back all its customs, beliefs, and institutions to the apostolic age.

But neither did the church of the second century love a canon. At least the Alogi did not, and they constituted a large and influential body within the church. They objected to the inclusion of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, and would have included the Gospel of Peter, or the Shepherd of Hermas, or the Egyptian Gospel. The author of our book is inclined to think that they were right—at least in what they would include. He believes that Christian theology throughout the history of the church has been compelled to follow more or less closely the allegorizing methods of interpretation of Irenaeus, because "the assumption that a complete system of doctrine is to be found in the Scriptures forces her to do it."

But may not even a self-glorifying hierarchy find it to its interest to do some good deeds? For men who believe in the operation of divine law in the natural world there will be no difficulty in holding that even though the formal determination of the canon was the work of a hierarchy, it was under the guidance of the Spirit of God. And, broadly speaking, the consensus of the church did find its expression in the decree of the Third Council of Carthage in 397.

With the historical statement of the ways whereby the canon originated there can be no fault found. It is true and convincing. But it is scarcely fair to say, as Mr. Ferris has said of writers upon the subject of the canon generally, "(they) contented themselves with an investigation into the history of the accepted books, and by showing that these books were considered sacred and authoritative long before a definite collection was made, they endeavored to prove the existence of a New Testament from the very beginning of the Christian era." This is not the method of the two most recent American writers upon the canon, Professor Edward C. Moore, in his The New Testament in the Christian Church, and Professor Caspar René Gregory, in his Canon and Text of the New Testament. Nor is it the method of the late Bishop Westcott in his work On the Canon of the New Testament. Indeed Bishop Westcott has told us that there is no sharp dividing line between canonical and non-canonical scriptures. But to say

¹ Christus Consummator, p. 7.

this is a very different thing from proposing to set the Epistle of Barnabas side by side with—or before—the Epistle to the Hebrews, and give Clement's Epistle and the Didache a place in the teaching of the church. When the author proposes this he has left the ground of historical investigation and will not find many followers. Few, however, will withhold their assent when, at the close of his discussion, he asks, "What, then, is the secret of the remarkable influence of the New Testament?" and answers "Christ."

EDWARD ARTHUR WICHER

SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Early Traditions of Genesis. By Professor A. R. Gordon. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. Pp. 348. \$2.25.

In this very readable and at the same time scholarly book, Professor Gordon has given us a valuable contribution on an already much studied theme. He sets for himself the task of estimating afresh the value of the early Hebrew traditions in the light of modern research and aims to ascertain their real character and significance. The emphasis is laid upon their moral and religious character wherein lies their permanent value.

Professor Gordon begins with a careful analysis of the documents in which he discriminates between an older nucleus used by I and various later Jahvistic traditions, the secondary J document and the P document. In the second chapter he discusses the age and relation of the documents. He agrees with the generally accepted date—circa 850 B.C. or very shortly after—for the time when the I document took form, but believes it probable that the older nucleus should be dated as early as the reign of Solomon. The secondary element, known as J2, shows close acquaintance with the chief cities of Babylonia and Assyria and also a somewhat detailed knowledge of Babylonian traditions, and since the narrative is most likely Judean in origin, it is dated shortly after 735-734 B.C. when the compact of Ahaz with Tiglath-Pileser III drew the southern kingdom into the maelstrom of Assyrian politics. This narrative, however, could hardly have been written after the invasion of Sennacherib (701 B.C.) which roused strong opposition to Assyrian influence. P, showing intimate knowledge of and literary dependence upon Babylonian traditions, was composed by priestly writers in Babylonia shortly before 444 B.C.

The author then proceeds to investigate by the comparative method the sources of these traditions. Starting with the story of the Flood, he points out the close resemblances which clearly show that the biblical narratives

were derived from the older Babylonian tradition. The account of P reveals closer affinities than that of I2, hence the latter was dependent for his material on oral tradition whilst the former had more direct access to original sources. The differences, however, are more important and indicate that the Babylonian narrative was recast by Bible writers in their own spirit. It is here that the distinctive value of the biblical traditions is to be found. The Babylonian contains a medley of confused gods charged with strong passions, destroying the human race for the sins of a few. moral tone is low. Ut-napishtim was not saved for his piety, but because he was a favorite of Ea. The record of Genesis with its one sovereign and righteous God, who destroys the sinner but saves the righteous and who is full of tender compassion, stands out in bright contrast to its Babylonian precursor. Although the reader will agree with Professor Gordon in maintaining the vast superiority of the biblical narratives, it is hard to escape the feeling that he has not done full justice to the religious value of the Babylonian narrative. Bel, in an outburst of wrath, destroyed innocent and guilty alike, but Ea's reproof of him for this very thing indicates a demand for righteousness in a god on the part of the ancient Babylonian myth-builders. Moreover, the comparison is made between Hebrew traditions dating from the fifth and eighth centuries B.C. and the Babylonian account of some twelve or fifteen hundred years earlier, but in the version of Berosus, Xisuthros, his wife, his daughter, and his steersman, are rewarded for their piety with the gift of immortality and those who remained of his party were bidden by a voice from heaven to be pious. In the Creation story, the author again finds that P had access to Babylonian sources, yet the biblical account has been so wrought that it excludes all traces of the mythology with which the Babylonian account is saturated. One exception is found in Tehom (=Tiamat) but even this becomes only "a dead inert mass of primeval matter." The universe is the work of one self-consistent and omnipotent Being. The story of Eden was ultimately Babylonian in origin, but its profoundly ethical character marks it Israelitish in its present form. No real parallel to the story of the Fall has been brought to light thus far among Babylonian records. With the most recent scholars, and against Friedrich Delitzsch, the famous cylinder with the two figures, the serpent and the sacred tree, is not so interpreted. The following conclusions are reached in regard to the extent of Babylonian influence. J, with one doubtful exception, shows no trace of it; narratives embodied in I have remote reflections; J2 shows a more direct knowledge of localities and traditions and P a more detailed acquaintance with them. Accordingly Professor Gordon finds this influence prominent during three main periods,

the Amarna, the regal (probably during the reign of Ahaz) and the exilic. This explanation commends itself as more reasonable than those which find Babylonian influence at only one period. The book also renders a great service in combating the prevalent tendency to find the sources of all Hebrew traditions in Babylonia. The author does not underestimate the influence of Babylonian traditions but he also finds those which are purely Israelitish, those introduced by the Kenites and those of Canaanitish origin.

Even more interesting is the attempt to ascertain the true value of the To this end the material is classified under three heads, mythical narratives, legends with mythical coloring, and historical and heroic legend. Myths have no value for recovering knowledge of actual historical events, but reveal clearly the early moral and religious ideals of the people who gave them shape even when they did not originate them. Legends give idealized pictures of life and character and often contain reminiscences of real historical facts and personalities. In the Hebrew myths, Israel's God is revealed as one God. His position in the universe is unique. He stands above chaos and all nature is obedient to his will. God is conceived anthropomorphically but this is the very life of ancient religions. He is invested with an ethical character. He is righteous and also merciful. The cosmogonies are not scientific in the modern sense, but the emphasis upon God's work in the evolution of nature makes them of permanent religious value. The myths also show a high estimate of the nature and destiny of man. His pre-eminence is shown in the cosmogonies. He is made in the image of God, an idea not unique among the Hebrews but their conception of God as "an elevated ethical personality" gives it special meaning among them. In both nature and destiny man is far superior to him who is presented in the parallel myths of other nations.

The last chapters are devoted to the discussion of the historical worth of the Hebrew legends. Two appendices follow, the first containing a translation of Gen., chaps. I-II, in the chronological order of the documents, together with extensive critical and exegetical notes, and in the second are translations of the more important Babylonian parallels.

In a word, this book is a valuable and welcome piece of constructive criticism by one who has a sympathetic appreciation of all that is elevating in Hebrew tradition. Those who have been troubled by recent historical criticism can read the book and find that they have gained more by scientific research than they have lost.

ALBERT A. MADSEN

YALE UNIVERSITY New Haven, Conn. The Reform Movement in Judaism. By David Philipson. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 581. \$2.

Students of Jewish history in general, and of Judaism in particular, will welcome Philipson's *Reform Movement in Judaism*. This is the only work in English that gives a complete account of the reform movement as it has thus far been developed in Europe and the United States. Dr. Philipson has collected the large mass of scattered literature in pamphlet and periodical form, and from the disconnected articles, papers, reports, and discussions in which are chronicled the beginnings of the reform movement has given us a full account of the whole movement.

In a general way we may say that "the reform movement was the outcome of the clear thought that distinguished the permanent from the transitory in religion." Herein lies the fundamental difference between the orthodox and the reform conceptions of Judaism.

They represented two imcompatible tendencies; the former held that every jot and tittle of past custom and practice had eternal validity and could not be changed; the latter declared that the dead hand of the past must not be permitted to rest upon the present, and that unless the expressions of the religion conformed with the requirements of living men, these would drift away from its influence altogether. The one party defended the principle of stability and immutableness in religious practice, the other that of progress and change.

The story of the reform movement in Judaism which had its beginning in Germany and is being further developed in the United States is the story of the struggle between two parties in Judaism, both of which were earnest and sincere in preserving the historic faith. The leaders of orthodoxy, as well as those who favored the reform movement, wished to uphold Judaism and strengthen the bond between the Jew and his religion. differed, however, in their means to bring about the desired end. Orthodoxy insisted that no matter what the spirit of the age may be the Jew must remain under Talmudic regulations, while the leaders of the reform party insisted that the spirit of Judaism was of far greater importance than the letter of the law, that the ancient faith must be reinterpreted so as to make it consonant with modern life. As long as this was merely a theory of the reformers they met with little opposition; the real struggle began when an attempt was made to carry out those theories into practice. When old prayers were omitted from the prayerbook and new ones introduced in their stead, when in many instances the vernacular was substituted for the Hebrew, and especially when reformers declared that "but one of two alternatives was possible for the Jew, either to be a rabbinical Tew and live aloof from the age or to live in the age and cease being a

rabbinical Jew," then the contest waxed bitter. Orthodoxy, unable to silence the reformers or crush the movement, sought governmental aid to suppress the new movement on the charge that innovations were being introduced in the domain of religion, and the Prussian government willingly lent its aid to put a stop to anything which smacked of modernity. But the influences of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were stronger than both orthodoxy and the Prussian government, and in spite of all opposition many reform centers were introduced in Germany.

In a brief review, it is impossible to mention all the leaders of the reform movement. They were many, as can be gathered from the number of the delegates that attended the rabbinical conferences in Brunswick, Frankfort, and Breslau, as well as from the numerous authors of articles and pamphlets in which they set forth their views concerning the reform movement. We cannot, however, refrain from mentioning the names of Zunz, Geiger, Holdheim, Einhorn, and Philipson in Germany, and Felsenthal, Wise, and Hirsch in this country, the men who more than any others are responsible for the character of reform Judaism as it has thus far been developed. Present-day reformers work along the principles laid down by these thinkers and the sooner the majority of Jewry learn to appreciate the fact that these men did not aim to tear down Judaism, but to strengthen it by pruning it of obsolete customs and regulations so as to emphasize and clothe in modern garb the "eternal verities" of ethical monotheism, the better will it be for both Jew and Judaism.

Dr. Philipson's book also ought to prove of especial interest to those non-Jewish students who have been taught to regard Judaism either as stern legalism, or, as has recently been done by a French writer, as "the concealed champion of unbelief and atheism." Those who mistake the legalism of the Talmud and Shulchan Aruk for Judaism are guilty of accepting a certain phase in the development of Judaism for Judaism itself. As has been pointed out by Zunz, the history of Judaism spells development and evolution, and not, as has been charged by many Christians, of being only "a lifeless survival since the rise of Christianity." Zunz pointed out that change and innovation were by no means unknown factors in Judaism: that "Jewish liturgy has been constantly enriched by Soferim, synhedrical authorities, rabbis, poets; that prayers in the vernacular were not only permitted but even commanded in certain instances," and that the reformers in Judaism were only developing the principles of life and evolution which have always been its characteristics. Philipson's book ought also to disabuse the minds of those students who regard reform Judaism as "a minimum of worship, a minimum of morality, a minimum

of dogma." From the utterances of the reformers these men would learn that reform Judaism aims to realize the highest religious concepts of the prophets and later Jewish sages, and while it is true that many ritualistic observances have been set aside by reformers, it was not done for the sake of reducing worship to a minimum, but rather to raise morality and religiosity to a maximum.

We are grateful to the author for presenting to the English reading public a work in which the latest phase of the historic development of Judaism has been clearly set forth, and we recommend the book to all students interested in Judaism.

Jos. RAUCH

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The Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul: His Ministerial Ideals. By W. Edward Chadwick, D.D., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xxii+394. 3s. 6d.

The author of these interesting studies evinces a practical, rather than an academic, purpose. He has grouped the passages in Paul's writings that bear on important phases of the Christian ministry, elucidated the principles set forth in them, and then applied them to the several tasks of the present-day preacher. It is no technical study of church organization and pastoral duties in the first century, but a series of reflections on the Christian ministry of today, suggested by Paul's pastoral labors and utterances.

Little use has been made of the pastoral epistles, for two reasons, as the author tells us: first, because an adequate treatment of them simply from the point of view of Paul's ministerial ideals would require an entire volume, and, secondly, because he wished to show the Apostle "at work as a Christian minister." We are therefore led to an examination of the records of Paul's laboratory, rather than set to work at his homiletic textbooks.

The treatment of the subject may be gathered from the following chapter titles: "The Minister of Christ a Workman," "The Pastor and His Pastorate," "Conceptions of Ministry," "The Address to the Ephesian Elders at Miletus," "The Love of Souls," "The Motive Power of Ministry," "The Prayers of St. Paul," "St. Paul on Preaching," "St. Paul on Prophecy," "St. Paul on Wisdom." The writer recognizes that the various ministerial titles, such as ἀπόστολος, δοῦλος, διάκονος, κήρυξ, διδάσκαλος, "describe functions of service" rather than formal "offices." The motives for pastoral work must not spring from a desire to make men "orthodox,"

or "to do our duty," but from self-sacrificing love, which is not a "gift" but "a spirit in which all gifts are to be exercised and which moralizes and 'Christianizes' all gifts and actions."

The ideal ministry should represent a three-fold combination—a call from God, the desire to serve men from the love of souls, and the hatred of sin. In the prophetic function the author sees nothing that is not possible to all men. The special mark of the prophet is divine inspiration, a resultant from intimate communion with the Holy Spirit.

The work before us is by no means a complete study of Paul's pastoral teaching. This the author himself fully admits. But it is a sympathetic inquiry into the pastoral aims and methods of the great missionary, preacher, organizer, and soul-winner of the first century, which will help the pastor, or Christian worker, who is in need of inspiration for his task.

HENRY BEACH CARRÉ

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The Peasantry of Palestine. The Life, Manners, and Customs of the Village. By Elihu Grant, B.D., Ph.D. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. Pp. 255.

Spending some months in Palestine in 1890, and again revisiting the country twelve years later, I was much impressed with the great changes which had taken place in the intervening period. That period had witnessed the real commencement of excavations in Palestine, and those excavations, together with the demand for antiquities on the part of tourists, who had greatly increased in number in the interim, had infected the population of the whole country with an antiquity mania, resulting in the destruction of an enormous amount of ancient remains. Large districts looked like the warrens of some huge breed of rabbits, as a result of the excavations of ancient tombs, conducted by the natives, naturally in the most unscientific and destructive manner. Moreover, much building had been undertaken in those years, and the demand for stones had led to the utilization of old monuments for building material. In some places the whole aspect of a town had been changed, and especially was this true of Jerusalem, where valleys and pools had been filled up, and the new city without the walls become as important and populous during those twelve years as the old town within.

I found, in 1890, a peasantry as a rule ignorant of the camera, absolutely unaware of the existence of America and Americans, quite unacquainted with steam, in a land without railroads and containing only one

serviceable carriage road—that from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Twelve years later, it was impossible to find a village or a hamlet where the people were unfamiliar with the camera. In the northern part of the country in every village I found persons who had either been to North or South America themselves, or had relatives there with whom they were in constant communication by letter. This communication with friends and relatives in America and the continual returning to Palestine of men and women who had seen a new country and learned new and modern ways, was making a profound impression on the everyday life of the common people. During that period, also, one railroad had been constructed and another was in process of construction, and two or three carriage roads had been built, while others were nearing completion. At the time of my second visit one could travel by wagon in not a few parts of the country, and even the poorest people in Jerusalem were constantly riding in cabs or omnibuses from Bireh on the north to Hebron on the south, and from Jaffa on the west to Jericho on the east, or from Acre and Haifa to Beisan, Nazareth, and Tiberias. Steam mills were everywhere in evidence. In the distant south land, the biblical Negeb, at Beersheba, a town had sprung up which reminded one somewhat of an American frontier town; and even here, in a land absolutely without fuel, a steam mill was running at full blast. The German colonists, with their industry and thrift, had prospered greatly and were now spreading from Haifa down the plain of Sharon, teaching the people of those regions new methods of agriculture and of home construction. In that period also foreign educational and missionary institutions had developed at a rapid pace, covering the whole land with a network of rival schools and foreign influences. Jewish agricultural colonies, a dozen or more in number, had been planted at various points from one end of the country to the other, and Jews from Russia had poured into the country in such numbers that Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron had become Jewish cities, while Jewish merchants could be found everywhere. Descendants of the ancient population, these modern Tews were utter aliens to the ancient customs and traditions of biblical Palestine, which had been handed down from generation to generation in the life of the peasantry of the country.

In the five years succeeding my last visit, the changes have been even more rapid, and it seems probable that, before long, nothing of that old Palestine will remain, by the study of the customs and habits of which already so much light has been thrown on the pages of the Bible. Any book which will, as it were, photograph that olden life of Palestine, which, so far as it still exists, is to be found among the peasants, which will record

the details of peasant life, peasant customs, in the home, in the field, in the market, the peasant superstitions, and the religious practices of the peasant, is timely and valuable. This Professor Grant has endeavored to do in the book which lies before us. He spent three years as a teacher in a Friends' School at Ramallah, on the southern borders of old Ephraim, some ten miles to the northwest of Jerusalem. In addition to his work at Ramallah, he had to make frequent visits to out-stations in such little known towns as Tayibeh. Deeply interested not merely in the religious but also in the sociological aspects of his work, he studied minutely the people and their customs, and he has preserved in this little volume a record of his observations, peculiarly valuable, not only because of the region in which he worked and from which his material is mainly derived, but also because of a singular combination of painstaking care and sympathetic feeling for the ways and habits of the people of the land. Moreover, he asked himself very practical questions, and in answering them for himself he has gathered material which answers just those questions which the average intelligent man or woman would like to put to the Palestinian explorer, if he could reach him personally.

The book is extremely modest and unpretentious. There is no fine writing in it, but in that very fact lies a part of its charm, and some of the chapters have an unconscious eloquence in their very simplicity. At the suggestion of some of his friends, Professor Grant has provided the volume with footnotes of reference to biblical passages illustrated by the text, which make the book an admirable manual for the Bible student. The illustrations, which are numerous and which really illustrate the text, are taken from Professor Grant's own photographs.

While Professor Grant does not profess to be an archaeologist or explorer, I have read no book recently which has made me so conscious of my own lack of knowledge with regard to certain localities and remains, and certain customs and practices, both ancient and modern, and no book has so stirred me with a desire to return once more and speedily to the Holy Land, to inform my ignorance by personal observation, following the new suggestions which its pages have brought to me.

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Rew Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

Kent, C. F. The Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History from the Creation to the Death of Moses. With Maps. [The Historical Bible.] New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. xvi+251. \$1.25.

The first of a series of six volumes covering both Testaments and intended to make "the most valuable constructive results of modern biblical discovery and research" accessible in "popular practical form." Vol. I presents the biblical material in Professor Kent's own translation, analyzed into its constituent sources which are arranged in parallel columns when they narrate the same event, and are provided with brief introductory and explanatory notes. The plan of the series seems well adapted to the needs of those for whom more elaborate and technical presentations are confusing.

JAHN, HOLGER. Bilder aus dem alten Israel. Mit einem Vorwort von Professor Dr. theol. Fr. Buhl. Autorisierte Uebersetzung aus dem Dänischen von Ottilie von Harling. Dresden: Ungelenk, 1908. Pp. vi+130.

These eight "pictures" are of such incidents as the death of Jephthah's daughter, and the hanging of Rizpah's sons. With a true interpretative insight, the author narrates in simple but vivid style the biblical stories, leaving them to make their own impress upon the mind of the listener. The stories are striking in character and exceedingly well told.

KAUTZSCH, E. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, in Verbindung mit Professor Budde und anderen, übersetzt und herausgegeben. Dritte, völlig neugearbeitete, mit Einleitungen und Erklärungen zu den einzelnen Büchern versehene Auflage. Lieferung I. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1908. Pp. viii+64. M. 0.80.

Kautzsch's well-known translation of the Old Testament here enters upon its third edition. It marks an advance upon the two previous editions in that (1) the introductions to the various books are placed immediately before their respective books instead of being relegated to the appendices; (2) the explanatory comments are attached as footnotes to the passages which they elucidate instead of being postponed to the appendices; (3) a more critical attitude is assumed toward the Massoretic text; (4) the sources of the various narratives are indicated by letters in the margin; and (5) the poetic passages are printed in poetic form. This first instalment of the work contains thirty-eight chapters of Genesis with the accompanying introductory and explanatory notes.

ARTICLES

MERRINS, E. M. The Plagues of Egypt. Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1908, pp. 401-29.

"It is the modest purpose of this article to show that the narrative of the plagues, even when divested of all that can be called miraculous, is worthy of credence as the record of a series of remarkable national calamities." Four plagues are left for a second article.

Driver, S. R. The Aramaic Inscription from Syria. *The Expositor*, June, 1908, pp. 481-90.

A translation and study of a recently discovered inscription which is the oldest Aramaic writing at present known. It relates how Zakir, king of Hamath and Laash, erected this monument to Baal-shamain, his god, as a votive-offering in return for a victory granted to him over Benhadad, son of Hazael, king of Syria, and his allies. It is thus not more than fifty years later than the Moabite stone.

GRAY, G. B. The Heavenly Temple and the Heavenly Altar. The Expositor, June, 1908, pp. 530-46.

The second and concluding portion of an article aiming to show that the late Jewish idea of a temple in heaven with its altar and priesthood was not derived from Babylon but was a native development in the period 500-100 B. C.

PSICHARI, JEAN. Essai sur le Grec de la Septante. Revue des études juives, April, 1908, pp. 161-208.

A careful and detailed study, with full bibliographical references, of the question as to Hebraisms in the Septuagint. The decision is that Deissmann and his followers have gone too far in denying the presence of such idioms.

NEW TESTAMENT

Huck, A. Deutsche Evangelien-Synopse. Mit Zugrundelegung der Uebersetzung Carl Weizsäckers. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. xvi+152. M. 3.

Huck's well-known Greek Synopse now appears in a German form, employing Weizsäcker's excellent translation. Johannine and extra-canonical parallels are included, as well as the most important textual variants. The work should prove useful, as a synoptic harmony, but the omission of tables and index of passages will prove a serious disadvantage in its use.

RESA, FRITZ. Jesus der Christus. Bericht und Botschaft in erster Gestalt. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1907. Pp. iii+111. M. 1.80.

Jesus' life and teachings, stripped of the miraculous, are set forth in the words of the gospels. The writer seeks to free the gospel from everything that did not originally belong to it, feeling that only thus can it make its appeal to the intelligent laity of today. It is observable that many acts of healing are preserved in Resa's narrative, and in general the aim is to retain the atmosphere and color of Jesus' times. Both the motive and the method of this little book are of interest. The grouping of the material into a narrative of Jesus' life and a collection of his sayings reflects the two-document hypothesis still so prevalent among German students of the Synoptic Problem.

Gregory, C. R. Das Freer Logion. [Versuche und Entwürfe, 1.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. iv+66.

Starting from the first authoritative account of the Detroit biblical manuscripts in the February Biblical World, Professor Gregory recounts the discussions by Harnack, von Soden, and others which they have called forth, and develops at some length his own view of the manuscripts and of the new reading. The manuscripts he assigns to the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and suggests that they may have come from the White Convent at Sohag, near Akhmîm, where, in the course of some repairs, some still more ancient books were recently discovered. The new reading in Mark 16:15 is analyzed and held to be neither a genuine saying of Jesus, nor an integral part of the Longer Conclusion, but a bit of extraneous tradition that crept into the text not earlier than 100 A. D. and not later than 130 A. D. The same manuscripts have been discussed by Professor H. B. Swete in the Guardian, May 1, 1908, and editorially in the Expository Times, June, 1908. Professor Gregory's monograph is the first extended discussion of these important documents.

Drucker, A. P. The Trial of Jesus from Jewish Sources. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1907. Pp. 64.

Rabbi Drucker urges that it was Pilate who, with the aid of the unprincipled Caiaphas, effected the death of Jesus, whom the Jewish people at large loved and obeyed. The trial, as described in the gospels, violated every step of proper Jewish procedure, and hence cannot have taken place before the Sanhedrin, which tribunal was, moreover, not in operation at this time (40 B. C.-42 A. D.). Many points of interest are presented which call for examination and recognition; some demand more critical scrutiny. The writer shows a sympathetic attitude toward Jesus, and a natural disposition to exonerate the Jewish people, forgetting that Jesus like the prophets before him had both friends and foes among his countrymen. That the mass of the Jewish people desired the death of Jesus probably no one of intelligence now believes.

WALKER, W. L. The Teaching of Christ: In Its Present Appeal. New and Revised Edition. Edinburgh: Clark, 1908. Pp. ix+240. \$1 net.

Strong religious feeling, keen insight, and moderation of tone, characterize this study of Jesus' teaching.

Wellhausen, J. Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis. (Abhandl. der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol. Histor. Klasse, N. F., IX, 4.) Berlin: Weidmann, 1907. Pp. 34. M. 2.

Wellhausen holds the Apocalypse to have been written in the time of Domitian's persecution, with the use of earlier materials of Jewish color, some of which (11:1, 2; 12:1-17) reflect the time of the Jewish war, but most of which are later than 70 A.D. The whole has sustained some not very considerable subsequent modification. Wellhausen finds the clue to the Jewish or Christian character of the material in the historical situation reflected, and directs his attention especially to 11:1, 2; 12:1-17; 13:1-18; and 17:1-18. The whole text is discussed, however, section by section, with reference to the originality and critical status of each. The Apocalypse is especially debatable ground, and Wellhausen has approached the problem of its literary analysis with his usual originality and vigor.

BONNET, JOSEF. Éclaircissement de l'apocalypse. Fribourg: Imprim. Saint Paul, 1908. Pp. 48. Fr. 1.

The material of the Apocalypse in the French of Bossuet is rearranged apparently less in a critical than in a topical interest. Bonnet undertakes to exhibit the natural order of the material, by which many obscurities and difficulties are obviated. To this end the text is freely rearranged, and grouped under seven principal heads, 7:1-3, e. g., following 11:1-13; 7:4-14 following parts of chaps. 21, 22, 15, 14; and 7:15-17 appearing still later. The few remarks present some useful explanations, but the method and purpose of the analysis is nowhere adequately set forth. The writer holds strongly to the apostolic authorship, and expresses horror of the freer critical treatment of the book in which other Catholic interpreters of the modernist type have indulged. (Th. Calmes, Apocalypse, Paris, 1907.)

RIDDLE, MATTHEW B. The Story of the Revised New Testament. American standard edition. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1908. Pp. 89. 75 cents net.

Dr. Riddle was from the outset a member of the New Testament Company of American Revisers, and now gives an interesting account of the origin and progress of the revision movement, answering many questions which must have occurred to readers of the American edition. He confirms the impression that the revisers used no single Greek text, but passed upon each reading for themselves. Altogether this little book constitutes a valuable "footnote to history."

ARTICLES

HARNACK, A. Neues zum unechten Marcusschluss. Theologische Literaturzeitung, March 14, 1908, coll. 168-70.

Harnack discusses the new reading of the Freer Gospels, in Mark 16:15, holding that it probably came from the source from which the Longer Conclusion was derived, but hardly belongs in its present place in the Conclusion. He thinks it strongly "Hebrew Palestinian" in color, harmonizing admirably with the peculiar eschatological traditions of Palestinian origin, reflected in Papias.

Von Soden, H. Ein neues "Herrenwort," aufbehalten als Einfügung in den Schluss des Markusevangeliums. *Die Christliche Welt*, 14. Mai, 1908, coll. 482–86.

Von Soden discusses the new reading of Mark 16:15 in the Freer Gospels, holding the saying of Jesus it preserves to be unlike his authentic utterances or, indeed, synoptic tradition in general, but to resemble the saying of Mark 16:14-18, and to have come in all probability from the same source with it. Mark 16:14-18, including the new Freer saying, is thus a unit, reflecting a time later than Paul and John, but belonging to a very early period.

RURGGALLER, E. Das literarische Problem des Hebräerbriefes. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, IX, 2 (1908), pp. 110-31.

In Wrede's theory that Hebrews is not a letter, but an epistle in the literary sense, a discourse addressed to an imaginary congregation, and then given by its writer the conclusion of a Pauline letter, in order to promote its circulation, Burggaller concurs to this extent, that it is not a letter addressed to a certain definite situation and congregation. He holds it to be neither personal letter nor literary epistle, however, but an oration or exhortation, in short a Christian sermon, which, after its delivery, was written down and sent to another church, with a brief epistolary paragraph by way of conclusion.

RELATED SUBJECTS

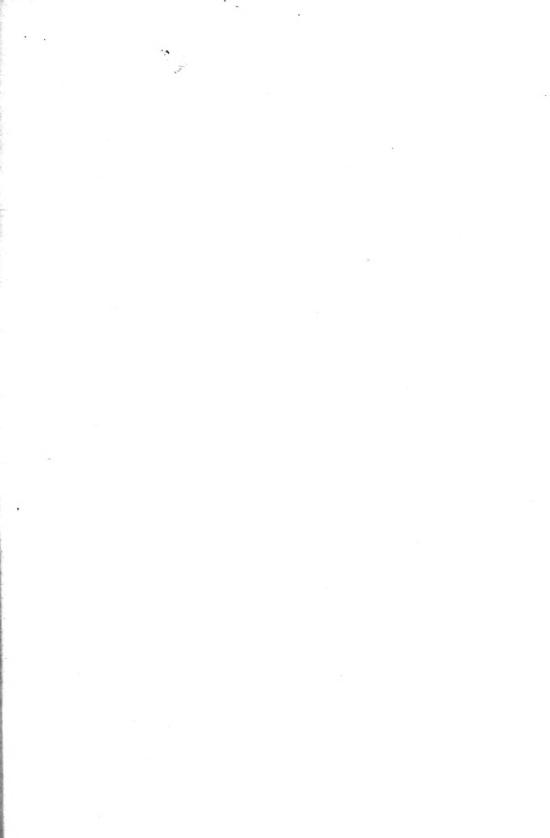
BOOKS

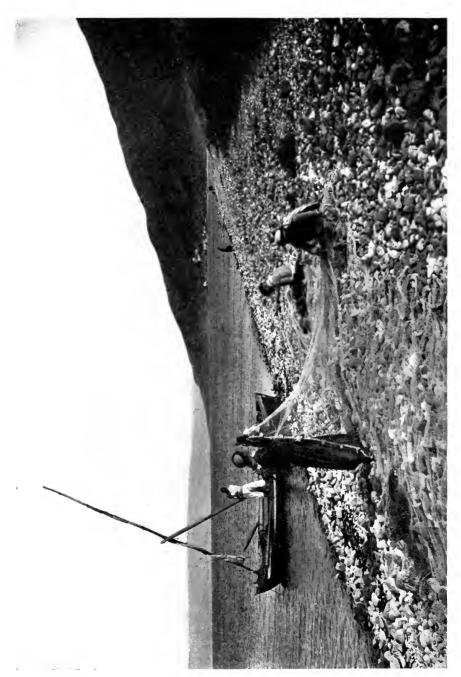
ADAM, J. The Religious Teachers of Greece. Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion Delivered at Aberdeen. Edited with a Memoir by his wife, Adela Marion Adam. New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. lxxiv+467. \$4 net.

A splendid piece of work on the great thinkers of Greece from Homer to Plato. Five lectures are devoted to the latter, two each to Homer, Heraclitus, Socrates, and Euripides, and one each to Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles. The lectures display the master's control of the subject and its literature, a fine literary charm and distinction, and profound appreciation of the problems of the religious view of the world. Students of the religion of the Hebrews can learn much from the study of the religious ideas of Greece, while this work should prove valuable especially in revealing the religious ideas amid which early Christianity did its work in Greece.

WORK, E. W. The Fascination of the Book. Chicago: Revell, 1906. Pp. 253. \$1.25.

Thirteen short chapters devoted to a eulogy of the Bible. The standpoint is distinctly that of the preacher, and the book is aimed at the average man. Such a one cannot read these chapters without a deeper appreciation of the Scriptures and a quickened impulse to embody their teachings in life. The author keeps himself free from entanglement in any theory concerning the way in which the Bible originated, and devotes himself to indicating and emphasizing its elements of moral and spiritual power.





FISHERMEN MENDING THEIR NETS BY LAKE OF GALILEE, SOUTH OF TIBERIAS

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Editorial

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

THE PREVALENCE OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND ITS RESULTS

The spirit and attitude toward Old Testament interpretation, now so universally associated with the name Wellhausen, have come to characterize practically all Old Testament scholars. Some are possessed by them in greater degree than others; but even those most closely adhering to former methods of exegesis have not escaped the influence of the movement. The defense of traditional positions contributed by Professor Orr, for example, differs fundamentally from that represented by Professor William Henry Green, in the last generation. The success of the critico-historical method seems to be so firmly assured that we might well fear lest it become a new orthodoxy and develop a new dogmatism. The hour of triumph is not infrequently the hour of greatest danger.

THE PAN-BABYLONIAN DEFECTION

Signs are not wanting, however, that the movement is not to be allowed to rest upon its laurels. A period of introspection, or self-criticism, has set in. Released from the necessity of defending themselves from outside attack, the representatives of the new Old Testament learning have begun to examine more critically the strength of the positions they occupy. One result is the so-called Pan-Babylonian school of criticism, which was so ably described and criticized by Professor Barton in the May number of the *Biblical World*. Briefly stated, its contention is that the Wellhausen school

has overlooked, or underestimated, the fact that the Hebrews lived in the midst of a great oriental civilization, the main ideas and institutions of which they must have shared. Consequently, they are to be given credit for greater attainment, intellectually, socially, and religiously, in the early years of their existence than is commonly conceded them by modern criticism. The results reached upon this basis, on the one hand, accord more nearly with the traditional view in that they tend to establish the existence of monotheism in pre-prophetic Israel; but, on the other, they depart from long-accepted views more radically in that they tend to show that Israel's religious possession was not hers alone but was shared by the whole oriental world.

THE MOST RECENT ATTACK UPON THE HISTORICAL METHOD

A second result is the series of Old Testament studies recently inaugurated by Professor Eerdmans, of the University of Leiden, and directed, as he himself declares, against the position of the Wellhausen school in general, and, in particular, against its view of the origin of the sources that constitute the basis of the early Old Testament literature. The first instalment of these studies concerns itself with an investigation of the prevailing documentary hypothesis as applied to the book of Genesis. The conclusions of this investigation are sufficiently startling. The J, E, and P documents, to which we have long since become reconciled, are ruled out of court. In their stead appear as the ultimate sources of Genesis four strata of sagas or To the first and oldest stratum belong a few stories reflecting an undimmed primitive polytheism. A second stratum recognizes Jehovah as one among many gods. The third carries over polytheistic elements from tradition to Jehovah, the only God. The fourth consists of supplementary additions from a late period when monotheism had triumphed and all the old sagas were interpreted monotheistically. The stages of the process by which these four strata of sagas grew into the present book of Genesis were, in brief, as follows: The foundation of the book was laid in the form of a large collection of sagas, made up chiefly of the stories of the patriarchs and their families beginning with Adam, to which the name Book of Adam is applied. This supposititious book took form

not later than 700 B. c., since it has no trace of monotheistic teaching; it constitutes the larger part of the book of Genesis. The first addition to this nucleus was a series of stories to be known as the Israel-recension, in distinction from the Jacob-recension which constitutes part of the Book of Adam. The Israel-recension does not differ essentially in ideas or date from the Book of Adam. To this combined work, there was next attached a series of stories edited from a monotheistic point of view and so to be dated in some period after the appearance of Deuteronomy. Just how many more times the work was expanded cannot be determined.

It is unnecessary to point out how vastly different this alignment of sources is from that now current. It is practically a return to the old fragment hypothesis of the early days of Hexateuchal analysis. It may also be noted how wide a difference in the conception of Israel's religious development exists between the position assumed by Eerdmans and that taken by the representatives of the Pan-Babylonian school. By the latter, monotheism is assigned to the period of Moses; by Eerdmans, to the period of Jeremiah and the Exile. Which is the nearer right, cannot perhaps yet be determined. Time will tell.

THE TRANSITORY ELEMENT IN HISTORICAL CRITICISM

It should be remembered that Eerdmans, occupant of the chair formerly held by Kuenen, and the Pan-Babylonists are all alike members of the school of Wellhausen, having not the slightest intention of reinstating the old orthodoxy. Is Wellhausenism, therefore, to be described as a house divided against itself? And are we consequently to expect its speedy downfall? That depends, partly, at least upon our definition of Wellhausenism. If we identify it with the commonly accepted results of modern Old Testament criticism, we must of course acknowledge that these results, like any given set of supposed facts and opinions, must be modified in the course of time as new facts are discovered and as old facts are seen in new light. It is conceivable, indeed, that the modification may be so great as to render the original product practically unrecognizable. Such would be the case were Eerdmans' views, for example, to become generally accepted.

THE PERMANENT CONTRIBUTION

But the contribution of modern, historical criticism is not to be sought primarily in the results it has wrought out. It consists rather in its scientific method and spirit. These constitute a permanent gain for biblical interpretation. The necessity of applying every rational test and of facing all the facts squarely without theological let or hindrance can never again be successfully called in question in the realm of biblical scholarship. This fact is already so thoroughly recognized that even the opponents of historical criticism are constrained to acknowledge the legitimacy of its method and to employ that method in their attacks upon its positions. No interpretation of biblical life and thought can secure a moment's hearing unless it be based upon recognized scientific method. One interpretation of the biblical history may give place to another throughout the centuries, but the historical method and spirit must abide.

This historical method is the most precious possession of the interpreter as such. Rigid adherence to it is the only, but all-sufficient, guarantee against that intellectual paralysis which inevitably ends in unspiritual and unscientific dogmatism. It functions as a perpetual fountain of the waters of life, causing new growths to spring up in every direction and keeping alive and vigorous the desire to get at things as they are. It welcomes every trained student; it asks nothing of his religious or philosophical antecedents, but insists only upon an open mind. It asks no favors from those to whom it makes its appeal for acceptance. It desires only to be judged by the standards that apply in other sciences and rests its case upon its reasonableness. It follows from all this that changes must needs come in the formulation of results. New hypotheses will constantly appear. There can be no final statement, authoritative once for all. Stagnation is death; life ever manifests itself in new forms. The historical method belongs to the realm of life.

LOWER GALILEE

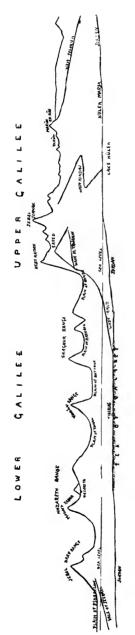
DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN Jerusalem, Syria

The name Galilee is the Graecized form of the Hebrew בֹל־ל galîl. a word used (I Kings 6:34) to describe the "folding" or "rolling" of a door, and, as a substantive, translated a "ring" in Cant. 5:14: Esther 1:6. As a geographical expression, applied to other regions than what we know as Galilee, it is translated "country" (Ezek. 47:8) and "borders" (Josh. 13:2; 22:10, 11). There were thus several galils as there were many frontiers, but the district now under consideration was known as hag galîl or the galîl (Josh. 20:7; 21:32; I Kings 0:11; II Kings 15:20; I Chron. 6:76) or, to give it its full title, galîl hag goyîm² (Isa. 9:1), the "ring" or "region of the nations." It would appear in the earliest references to have been a small region around Kedesh, though later it seems to have comprised the possessions of Zebulon and Naphtali and a considerable proportion of that of Asher and Issachar. Its frontier was an ever-changing shore line toward the "nations" on which the tide ebbed and flowed, sometimes submerging the Hebrews and sometimes driving them north. Even within this district the peoples appear always to have been, as they are today, strangely mixed in both race and religion.

The ideal physical boundaries of this region are well defined—few small provinces have naturally so secure a frontier; yet these never appear in the whole course of Jewish history to have coincided with the political limits. On the south this division of Palestine is naturally bounded by the Great Plain of Esdraelon, from the northern edge of which the hills of Nazareth rise with remarkable abruptness. To the west the Mediterranean and to the east the Jordan and its two lakes are nature's bounds. On the north modern custom has come to limit Palestine proper—and therefore Galilee—by the extraordinary gorge of the Kasimêyeh or Litâny River. This deep

¹ Almost certainly also in Josh. 12:23.

² Compare Harosheth hag goyîm (Judges 4:2), and their locality on the borders.



cañon runs from east to west across the greater part of the mountain range, leaving but a narrow strip of high land between it and the Jordan Valley. The cliffs of this ravine rise in places almost sheer for over a thousand feet, and it is only at a few spots that it can be crossed.

Within these limits is confined a great variety of country, of climate, and of scenery. To the west lies the Plain of Akka—the delta formed by the two rivers of Lower Galilee, the Kishon and the Belus—which is separated by the great seaward jutting mountain range of Ras en Nakurah from the narrower, though more famous, coast region of Tyre and Sidon. To the east lies the most fertile and beautiful section of the Ghor or Jordan Valley with its abundant running waters and its tropical climate. Between these two level areas lies a region of mountain, hill, and plain, the most diversified and attractive in Palestine.

The mountain mass of Galilee is made up of stratified limestone of layers of varying denseness but almost without exception weathering rapidly under rain and weather. rocks and stones, exposed unprotected to such influences, speedily disintegrate, while caves produced by the wearing away of soft underlying layers of the limestone are exceedingly At some spots near the Jermak are deep natural well-like holes in the rock of great depth, similar to those found in England and other parts of Europe. Fossils are scarce but bands of flints and spheroidal nodules of white quartz, varying in size from that of a walnut to a football, are very common, especially all about the central plateau. Overlying the lime-

stone there are many patches of trap-rock; all the laval outflows are on the eastern side of the water-parting. The most extensive area is that centering round the double volcanic peak known as the "Horns of Hattin." From here the lava has flowed out on all sides. It caps the limestone rocks overhanging the western side of the Lake of Tiberias and flows southeast down the wide valley of Salel el Ahma. Northward it is spread out on the fertile plain of Hattin. In the district immediately to the north of this is another great deposit, probably an entirely independent outflow through which the Rubudevel stream has cut its way. Almost on the water-parting itself two little outcrops from dykes appear at Umm el Amed and also just below Deir Hannah. Safed, though its hills are entirely of soft chalky limestone, is encircled by trap-rock. To the west and northwest lie the great volcanic plateaus of el Jish and Alma—each with a rain-filled crater-like pool. On the north of Safed there is a patch of this rock high up in the mountains just below Benît. To the east a great outflow occupies the Ghor between Lake Huleh and the Lake of Tiberias; while southward all the lower ground between the mouth of the Jordan and el Oreimeh is made up of terraces of black lava. through which, however, limestone hills project in places. Within sight of eastern Galilee are the numerous extinct volcanoes of the Jaulan, and the hot and sometimes sulphurous springs in the neighborhood of the Lake of Galilee are also evidences of slumbering subterranean fires. The testimony of history that this region has been the center of severe earthquakes is supported by the terrible destruction and overthrow of all the ancient remains. One other physical feature of Galilee requires passing mention, namely, the great number of rich alluvial plains. Esdraelon, Akka, Torcan, Battauf, el Ghuweir (Gennesaret), el Huleh, Kedes, and Mês are some of the most important, and all of them are referred to elsewhere. In all, the alluvial deposits are of great depth and of extraordinary productiveness. Notwithstanding the long neglect of careful agriculture these plains still give Galilee something of her old character of wonderful fertility.

A. LOWER GALILEE

The Talmud³ states that "Galilee contains the upper, the lower, and the valley" (i. e., the *Ghor*) and these are the three natural ³ Shebūth, IX, 2.

divisions. The mountain region has by nature been very clearly divided into a southern lower part, where the hills are gentle and rounded, the plains wide and fertile and the natural roads easy and direct, and a northern or upper part, where there are lofty mountain peaks, deep narrow valleys and high plateaus. The natural dividing line is the great mountain range which runs due east and west to the north of the plain of Rameh, rising there to the point Jebal Haidar (3,440 feet) and culminating at the eastern end at the peaks of Jebalat el Arûs (3,520 feet). Beyond the deep chasm of Wady el Tawahîn the direction of this range is continued by the southern wall of the mountain mass of Safed, and terminates at the eastern extremity of Jebal Kancan (2,761 feet). When it is remembered that the highest point in all Lower Galilee is only 1,843 feet above the sea, and most of it is much lower, the outstanding nature of this great barrier is manifest. Lower Galilee, overlooked from such a height as Jebal Haidar, appears as a plain broken by wave behind wave of rounded hills. The lines of narrow plain land, stretching from the plain of Akka in the west to the Jordan Valley in the east, are most striking. Indeed this is the most noticeable feature in the geography of this region; the whole land consists of parallel ranges of hills running east and west with wide fertile valleys between. From south to north these ranges are Jebal Dahi (1,600 feet)—the "Little Hermon" of the mediaeval pilgrims—the Nazareth Range with Mount Tabor, the Torcan Range and the Southern and Northern Ranges of esh Shaghûr. The middle of these ranges—the Torcan—only extends half way across the land westward, and all these hill formations, but particularly the three southern ones, make a curved southward bend at their eastern end as they approach the Jordan or the lake. At these ends, too, the limestone formation is overlaid with much volcanic trap.

The great Plain of Esdraelon—known as Merj ibnel Amir—appears naturally rather as a frontier or an arena of battle than as an integral part of Galilee. The domination over the plain appears to have belonged sometimes to the southern and sometimes to the northern inhabitants, but in times of weakness on the part of both, the Children of the East would sometimes sweep upon it and devastate its fruitful harvests like a swarm of locusts. The great western bay between Jebal Dahi and Tabor is certainly physically, as it has in history been

politically, an integral part of Galilee, and Carmel, at one period at any rate, followed its northern mountain neighbor. As regards the great triangular main stretch of plain the cities at the edge of the hills, such as Geba (Sheikh Abreik), Gabatha (Jebata), Simonias (Simûnieh) must have grown their cereals there, just as Nazareth does today. That the frontier was very ill-defined in the time of Josephus is shown by the fact that though he puts the northern boundary of Samaria at Ginea⁴ (Jenîn), at the southern edge of the plain, he puts⁵ the southern boundary of Galilee at Xaloth (the Chesulloth of the Old Testament), now Iksal, at the northern edge.

The Nazareth Range of hills reaches at Jebal es Sih, about three miles northeast of Nazareth, a height of 1,838 feet, and in the outlying spur of Tabor, 1,843 feet, while at Neby Sain, the hill immediately above Nazareth itself, a height of 1,602 feet is attained. From this central mass the ground falls on all sides. Westward there is an extension of low forest-bearing hills lying between the Kishon on the south and its tributary, the Wady el Malek, on the north. On the southern edge of this hill-country lies Sheikh Abreik, once a village of much im portance to judge from its tombs and caves, and probably the Gaba, "the City of Horsemen" of Josephus⁶ where lived the horsemen of Herod, while near the northern edge is the little hamlet of Beit Lahum—the Bethlehem of Zebulon. The eastern extension of the Nazareth Range consists of a series of fertile plateaus in which volcanic elements are largely mixed. The high ground runs southward at its eastern extremity where it overhangs the Jordan Valley.

North of the Nazareth range comes the Plain of Toran along which runs the modern carriage road from Kefr Kenna to Tiberias. This alluvial plain, five miles long by one mile wide, drains westward through the Wady el Rummaneh into the Battauf, its waters finally reaching the Kishon through the Wady el Malek. Over the main water-parting near Lubieh the eastern extension of this plain runs southeast from opposite the "Horns of Hattin," in a wide, sloping valley, strewn with volcanic stone, which drains to the Jordan by the Wady el Fejjaz. This valley is today known as the Sahel el Ahma,

⁴ B. J., III, iii, 4.

⁵ B. J., III, iii, 1.

⁶ Ant. XV, viii, 5; B. J., III, iii, 1.

and is probably Betzammin⁷ across which Sisera rushed in headlong flight to his ignominious death. At the head of this same valley, around the scorched roads of Hattin, the unfortunate Crusaders made their last ineffectual stand against the victorious Saladin (1187).

The Kurn Hattin is the center of the Torcan Range which here curves southeast and then south, where it overhangs the lake.



THE HORNS OF HATTIN-A VOLCANIC HILL

North of the Jebal Torcan is the marshy plain of el Battauf, nine miles long by two miles wide, doubtless once a lake. The western end drains into the Wady el Malek, but eastward has no proper outlet, and in winter months forms a great marsh most dangerous to cross. This was the plain of Asochis of Josephus. On its northern edge is Khurbet Kâna, identified in the Middle Ages as the Cana of Galilee of John 2:1-11; 4:46, and more probably the correct site than Kefr Kenna, a village in the Nazareth mountains favored by modern ecclesiastical tradition. It would appear almost certainly to have been the Cana of Josephus (see Vita, §§ 16, 17, 41). Half an hour's

⁷ Judges 4:11.

ride up a valley from this ruin is Tell Jefat, a bare rocky hill showing few remains, but without doubt the site of Jotapata, a very important fixed point in the topography of Josephus.

Over the water-parting to the east of el Battauf there is a rapid descent to the volcanic plateau of Hattin which drains by means of the Wady el Hamam into Gennesaret. North of the Battauf lies a somewhat confused mountain mass known as esh Shaghûr. One or two points, such as Rås Kruman (1817) and Rås Hazweh (1781), are nearly as high as the hills of Nazareth, but the average elevation is much under a thousand feet. The plateau of Arrabeh has, when seen from a height, the appearance of a plain, and it divides esh Shaghûr into a southern and a northern range. The drainage of this district is through Wady Shasib which joins the Wady Halzûn, one of the tributaries of the Belus (Nahr Nacrnein). On a hill rising at the western end of this high plain of Arrabeh is Sukhnîn, the Sikni or Sikning of the Talmud and the Sogane of Josephus. At its eastern end, crowning the water-parting, is the walled village of Deir Hannah, beyond which the ground rapidly sinks eastward into the Wadv Selameh, a well-watered valley which drains the plain of Rameh and is continued southeast as the Wady er Rubudeyeh into Gennesaret. Wady es Salameh derives its name from Khurbet es Salameh, a ruin crowning a strong and extensive site on which once stood the city of Salamis.11

The Plain of Rameh lies between esh Shaghur and the southern range of Upper Galilee. It chiefly drains southward as described. The valley to the east of Farradeh and Kefr Anan empties its waters by the Wady Maktul into the Wady el 'Amûd and thus to Gennesaret, while the western extension, a long open valley—Wady esh Shaghur—full of olive groves and cornfields, drains through the Wady el Halzun into the Belus at Akka. The whole of Lower Galilee is of great natural fertility. The plains are splendid arable lands; those of el Mughâr and Rameh are celebrated for their great groves of olives, a product for which Galilee was always celebrated. "It is easier,"

⁸ See Josephus, B. J., Book iii, chaps. 6 and 7.

⁹ Tal. Bab. Rosh.-Nash. Shannah, 29 n.

¹⁰ Vita, 51.

II Josephus, B. J., II, xx, 6.

it is said in the Talmud, 12 "to raise a legion of olive trees in Galilee than to raise one child in Judea." Vines are not today widely cultivated except around Rameh and, to some extent, Nazareth. hills are in places well wooded, particularly a quadrangular patch at the southwest corner of the Nazareth range and rolling country to the northeast and east of the slopes of Tabor. The lower valleys both to the east and west are all more or less wooded. The hills of Shaghur and also those to the east of Rameh are covered with "brush wood" —a shrubby growth now replacing what was only a few years ago a forest of fine trees. The shrubs consist of dwarf oaks of several kinds, terebinths, karûb (locust trees), zcaûr (hawthorn), wild olives or figs, meis (nettle tree), and arbutus, all capable of developing into noble trees, as well as storax, bay-laurel, myrtle, caper, sumakh, and lentisk, while the water courses are adorned by great masses of beautiful oleanders, willows, planes, and, occasionally, poplars. sycamore fig, once said to have been a characteristic product of Lower Galilee, is now scarce in these parts. Groves of sacred terebinths occur in many places and the thorny zizyphus (sidr), when covering a holy tomb, often attains noble proportions.

The water-supply of this district is rich specially in the lower ground, but even in the mountains good springs are plentiful. At many of the villages are copious springs, e. g., Seffurieh, Reineh, Nazareth, Hattin, Farradeh, while at the head of the Wady Salameh the fountains give rise to a perennial stream sufficient to work several mills. Reckoning together the mountain region and the low-lying plains east, south, and west, it would be hard to find a land at once so diversified and so richly supplied with nature's gifts. The vast majority of the historical references to Galilee, whether in the Maccabean period, in the New Testament or the Roman wars, refer to places in Lower Galilee. This is the more natural when we notice how the great roads traversed the district. The most certainly ancient of routes is that highroad marked today by the ruins of khans which crosses lower Galilee from northeast to south, and was known in mediaeval times as the Via Maris. Coming from Damascus across the black stony Jaulan, it crossed the Jordan at the Jisr Benat Yakûb, ascended in a southwest direction to the Khan Jubb Yusuf, where,

¹² Ber. Rabba, par. 20.

after giving off branches to Safed, to Akka (via Rameh) and to Kerazeh and the mouth of the Jordan, it descended to the Khan Minyeh. From here it crossed el Ghuweir (Gennesaret) and, either by way of the Wady Hamam, Irbid and Hattin, or (as at present) by the more open Wady Abu el Amîs, it ran up to the higher plateau, whence it ran by Khan el Tujjar, across Esdraelon, and southward through the great pass at Lejiûn to the coast. This highroad is an extremely ancient one and may be that referred to in Isa., chap. o. A branch of this road skirted the western shore of the lake and ran southward to Jerusalem via Beisân, Tubâs and the Plain of Makhneh, a route still strewn along its whole length with groups of Roman milestones. The broad valleys running east to west must always have been natural routes to the coast, particularly to the ancient port of Akka; one of the most important of these traversed the Plain of Torcan, past Suffurieh, and thence led by the Wady Abellin to the Akka plain; another ran from the Khan Jubb Yusuf, across the Wady Tawahîn, past Khurbet Abu Shebca, Rameh and Khurbet Kabra—the Gabara of Josephus¹³— and into the Plain of Akka by the Wady Wazeyeh. Both these routes are in constant use today. The whole district is intersected with numberless paths, almost all of which are possible to loaded camels except after heavy rain—and in the period of Galilee's greatness all the chief cities must have been connected by more or less well-made roads or paths.

 $^{^{13}}$ Vita, 10, 15, 25, 40, 46, 47, 61; B. J., III, vii, 1. In some passages called Gadara, by a textual error.

PAUL AND JESUS

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Since Baur first drew attention to the acute significance underlying the problem of Paul's relation to the primitive church, the cognate question of his exact relation to the gospel as it was preached by Jesus has never quite been laid to rest. During the last few years it has acquired larger proportions and keener interest than ever. This has been due for the most part to two causes:

a) On the one side, the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels has passed into a new phase, in which the sources and underlying strata of their religious traditions have elicited an unusual amount of more or less useful discussion. That Paul or Paulinism seriously affected any of the Synoptic Gospels is no longer held by any considerable number of critics; or, if it is held, the advocates, with some exceptions like Loisy, speak less confidently than before. Their claims have been abated recently. Thus Wellhausen, in his editions of the gospels, sharply rebukes Pfleiderer for detecting traces of "Paulinism" in Luke's Gospel, and his censure is by no means an idiosyncrasy. But Wellhausen himself indicates how an attempt may be made, and is being made, from another side to get behind the synoptic traditions of the canonical gospels to a more primitive stage. In Mark's Gospel he professes to find evidence for an original preaching of the gospel by Jesus that was devoid of messianic claims. The messianic contour of the gospels is their own; it is not an accurate reflection of the mind of Jesus. Were this so, not only Paul but the authors of the Synoptic Gospels would all be responsible for having draped the figure of the Galilean Jesus in parti-colored messianic categories drawn variously from the stores of their Jewish inheritance. first two decades after the death of Jesus would upon this theory show a serious deflection of the original gospel, inasmuch as the latter did not contain any specific place for that death. Jesus preached as a prophet or teacher. He lived and died either without making any messianic claims whatsoever, or using the popular messianic belief as a needful but inadequate means for expressing his own consciousness of a divine mission to reform Israel.

b) From another angle, the theology of Paul has been re-examined with a view to proving that he must have had his Christology readvmade, in outline, before he became a Christian. His epistles, when compared with Tewish messianic conceptions, especially as these are revealed in apocalyptical Judaism, are held to contain a preconceived scheme of divine categories, which he linked on to the person of Iesus, in order to state effectively and intelligibly his new faith. This is practically the thesis of critics like Wrede and M. Brückner, to some extent also of Pfleiderer in his recent volumes. Wrede's views are summarily put in his stimulating tract upon Paul in the Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher (1904). Wrede's early death in 1906 was a distinct loss to New Testament scholarship. He had a faculty of incisive, independent thinking, and even the extremes to which his mind generally swung are often more educative than the bloodless sagacity of more reasonable critics. In this tract he lays himself open to many damaging retorts. Even the ethical qualities which Paul occasionally predicates of Jesus are actually resolved, not into the impression made by the Lord's character, but into a deduction from the apostle's pre-Christian theory of a pre-existent redeeming Messiah. This is untenable enough in all conscience, but Wrede proceeds further to deny that Paul's epoch-making views of Christian freedom and eschatology were in the Christian line of development laid down by Jesus. In a word, Wrede exaggerates the independence of the apostle. "He stood farther from Jesus," we are told, "than did Jesus himself from the noblest forms of Jewish piety." Nay more, he was the true founder of the church. "Before him there was only a sect within Judaism itself; when he died, the Christian church, which was to be the salt of the whole earth, was already in existence." Paul was unconscious of this change; nevertheless, it is argued, he was responsible for it.

The common result of both processes of criticism is, that early Christianity suffered a transformation into something rich and strange when it passed down into the mind of Paul at least; that the ordinary theology of the Christian church rests upon the Pharisaic axioms of

the apostle rather than upon the spiritual and simpler intuitions of the Master; and that the original preaching of the church, in so far as it remained unaffected by the theology of Paul, was really a Jesus-religion, with Jesus as the example rather than as the object of human faith.

Recent discussions of the problems have concentrated, as a whole, upon the criticism of Paul rather than upon that of the gospels, although neither can be handled thoroughly apart. Wellhausen's theories have still to be sifted adequately. No direct impact of any serious consequence has been made upon them, except incidentally by Tülicher in his able pamphlet on Neue Linien in der Kritik der evangelischen Ueberlieferung (1906), pp. 40 f., and by Loisy in his recent commentary upon the Synoptic Gospels. Herr Schraeder's examination, in a pamphlet on Das Evangelium Jesu und das Evangelium von Jesus (1006) is right in its negative polemic against Wellhausen, but it is not a particularly strong piece of reasoning. The spirit of it is better than the muscle. Even upon the grounds of literary criticism, however, it is not unfair to suspect Wellhausen's separation of Mark 8:27—10:1 from the rest of the gospel, as containing the characteristic gospel of Jesus (in his Einleitung, pp. 77 f.). His reasons for assigning a preference to the stories, above the words of Jesus, as being more likely to remain insulated, are equally precarious. And as for his main position—while one can agree that the gospels give us the Jesus of the primitive church it must also be admitted, as Jülicher insists, that Jesus was not simply the creation of that church's messianic hope; he was its creator. "There is no foundation in our sources for the notion that the 'Jesus' of the early church was as a rule opposed to the real Jesus."

This special problem of Paul has received more attention. Here two very cogent replies, more or less decisive, but equally penetrating, have come from Kaftan and Jülicher. The Jesus und Paulus (1906) of the former is described as eine freundschaftliche Streitschrift gegen die religionsgeschichtlichen Volksbücher von D. Bousset und D. Wrede. It is a courteous, frank, and incisive refutation of Bousset's modernizing conception (in his volume on Jesus, translated in the Crown Theological Library) that the messianic rôle was accepted rather reluctantly by Jesus in order to carry out his mission. "To

Jesus," Kaftan argues (pp. 13 f.), "it was no mere form, but a great and divine reality. For the consciousness of Jesus, his mission as the Messiah of Israel and the Christ of the Lord, was the one fact which determined his inner life and all his actions." His transformation of the messianic conception only brings out more clearly than ever how native its essence was to his filial consciousness. If so, then there is no break or twist between his conceptions and those of the primitive church which hailed him as the Messiah of God. "A Jesus-religion, as modern theologians conceive it, never existed at all at the beginning of Christianity, either before the death of Jesus or after his resurrection" (p. 27).

Proceeding to deal with Wrede's view of Paul (pp. 29 f.), Kaftan has little difficulty in disposing of that writer's scholastic and dogmatic idea of Paulinism. Wrede is plainly retrograde at this point. He is on the old ground of Holsten, to whom Paul's system of thought was everything, and for whom the living experience of Paul the Christian was secondary to the theological passion for formulating a scheme of dogma upon messianic postulates. Kaftan's own view is that Jesus and Paul had much more in common than a superficial reading of the gospels and epistles might suggest. The resurrection of Jesus from the dead, to which his preaching led up, meant a divine revelation of God and of the world to come, which, with all its assurance of forgiveness and redeeming love in the person of Christ, was substantially reproduced by Paul, even though the Pharisaic training of the latter led him, in the stress of dialectic, to state certain elements of this gospel in terms peculiar to his own position.

Substantially, this is Jülicher's position in his brilliant pamphlet on *Paulus und Jesus* (1907). In speaking of the difference between the two (pp. 13–35), he has no hesitation whatever in rejecting Wrede's extraordinary identification of faith, in the Pauline epistles, with belief in dogmatic ideas. Further, while admitting and even underlining the idiosyncrasies of Paul's Christology, he agrees with Kaftan that Paul's high estimate of Christ's heavenly revelation must have had its roots in the primitive church. You cannot, says Jülicher, leave it hanging in the air, as a speculation or intuition of the apostle. In making the death and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah the vital point of Christianity, Paul was not inventing but reproducing, in his

own way, what was the current and original tradition of the churches. This contention is entirely just. No exception was taken to Paul by the original disciples on the ground of innovations in his view of Christ, and it is unhistorical to regard his attitude here as an aberration, which ran back to any speculative or argumentative exigencies in his situation or environment. Besides, as Jülicher continues (pp. 36 f.), it has to be remembered that Jesus and Paul occupied different situations in history. Allowance must fairly be made for this factor in estimating their differences of outlook. Paul could and must say much that would have been irrelevant to Jesus. And these differences disappear remarkably upon the field of ethics. Paul's ethical counsels are in substantial harmony with those of his Lord. The moral ideas and ideal of Jesus do not suffer any deflection in the spirit of his great apostle.

The conclusion is that, apart from the special rabbinical dialectic of Paul about the significance of the death of Jesus, which partakes of the nature of a temporary scaffolding now and then, the apostle's cardinal views of Christianity contain only such differences from those of Jesus as may be explained not unreasonably by the alteration of position. They were not speculative inventions. Practically, upon all essentials, Paul and the primitive churches were at one in regarding the death of Jesus the Christ as the basis of their new faith. Jülicher, it is true, refuses to regard the redeeming death of Jesus as a part of the Galilean gospel. He does no justice to Christ's consciousness of his own death as the divine climax of his mission. But, even with this defect, he manages to prove convincingly—as others have done before him—that it is unhistorical to regard Paul as the real originator of Christianity. He is not its founder, not even its second founder: "Christianity owes much to Paul, but it owes its existence not to him but to a greater, to Jesus." Of Paul's Christian teaching, his own word holds true: "It is not thou who bearest the root, but the root thee." Whatever the history of Christianity since Paul has been, it has not been the story of a falling-away from the pure primitive gospel of Jesus, an apostasy due to the apostle's passion for messianic categories. "Paul did not substitute his theology for the religion of Jesus; he built the former around the latter." There is a transition,

partly the result of the exigencies of controversy, but the vital elements of the religion are conserved.

Other monographs and essays have appeared, dealing more or less thoroughly with various elements of the problem, but none add much to the contributions that we have just reviewed. The heart of the problem, stripped of adventitious or secondary details, is this: in presenting Jesus as an object for the faith of the Christian, in assigning him a supreme position for human trust and reverence, was Paul a Paulinist or a Christian? That his theological construction of Christ's death paid toll to previous and contemporary rabbinic dialectic goes without saving. But this admission still leaves the core and center of Paul's gospel to be accounted for. Jesus did not preach justification; Paul did. Yet is not Paul's religious experience, which led to this special statement, the direct outcome of the impression made by Jesus Christ upon him? If the apostle cannot conceive that men may take God's forgiveness and fellowship for granted, apart from the redeeming death of Jesus, is he not true to the consciousness of Jesus himself? Must we not affirm that Jesus did regard men as being under an eternal obligation to himself in the matter of their relation to the Father, and that therefore Paul's steadfast grip of this truth was a genetic development of the original gospel? A negative answer to these queries is attempted upon many sides and for different reasons. But it is still possible to hold, upon the grounds of historical criticism and religious experience alike, that those who return an affirmative reply have a good reason for the faith that is in them.

THE HISTORICITY OF THE FIRST PATRIARCH. II

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4. During this argumentation a fourth query has arisen and now impetuously demands full attention. This new question leads back our spirits to the historic beginnings of other nations and permits the investigation to consider the Germans, and the personality Mannus. son of the god Tuisto, the alleged founder of the tribal system. 17 Or stress may be laid on the fact that the Hellenes traced their race from one great grandsire Héllēn, who had two sons, Aiolos and Doros, and two grandsons, Achaios and Ion. Now I shall freely admit that no one will ever fall into the error of finding historic individuals in the bearers of these names. 18 But in spite of this admission I am unable to subscribe to the general statement which has been deduced from those Greek names, as follows: "Never do races call themselves after single individuals but everywhere the name of the progenitor is first of all an epitome, a personification of the whole tribe."18 Here again we have that same "never" which was discussed above (at the beginning of paragraph 3) together with that ethnographic axiom. What is there represented as universally valid, first of all, must not be such and cannot be verified as such. Secondly, I raise the counter-question: Are experiences and acts related of Mannus or Héllen or even Aiolus, etc., like those recounted of Abraham and Isaac, etc.? How simple and human are the stories preserved of the two latter! They tell of a birthplace, of father and the paternal family, then of a migration from the immediate relatives, of a very natural roaming from place to place in the new homeland, of an emigration from this country because of famine, etc., until death and burial. No! the form of Abraham is no bloodless phantom and it is above all no mere ideal protrait.

¹⁷ This Tacitus affirms in his Germania, chap. ii.

¹⁸ Cornill, Geschichte des Volkes Israel (1898), p. 32; Eng. Trans., History of the People of Israel (1898), p. 30; pub. by the Open Court Pub. Co.

But do not men think of him as a mere stolid emigrant roving from place to place in Palestine? Do we not read how he must contend with his neighbors for the springs? How humiliating is particularly the scene where he must beg a place to put his dead. Human weaknesses were not suppressed in the records about him. The old Hebrew annals did not, even with reference to him, their prince, carry through a systematic obliteration of the weaknesses in the characters of their heroes. A purely fabricated patriarchal biography would have been dressed up very differently. We all know what brilliant forms spring into being, when the poetic fancy takes up palette and brush. How striking but true is this in Abraham's case! For the spirit desirous of recasting tradition crept into his story later. was exalted to a kingship over Damascus; for the Roman sources read: "Over Damascus there ruled as kings Azulus, soon after Adores, Abraham, and Israhel."19 Such an embellished report of the first patriarch is encountered in the writings of Tosephus and others. Then too, in the Qorcan (Sura, 6, pp. 74 ff.) Abraham is made to say to his father Azar:20 "Are ye accepting idols for gods? According to my way of thinking thou and thy people are in manifest error." What a perversion of the plain fact that Abraham—without doing violence to his former religious convictions—quietly obeyed the inner impulse, which drove him out on a new path so important for the history of religion! In other Jewish sources it is chronicled that the Chaldean astrologers had prophesied to their sovereign Nimrod that a son of Terah's would become dangerous to his sway and consequently the latter had concealed his son thirteen years. What a misplacement of the religious events in the political sphere and what a trimming-up of actuality with sensational frippery! On the other hand, how chaste and self-contained are the Old Testament narratives about the patriarchs! In very deed—which recently has not been recognized in the old-Israelitish tradition there are no miracles "made to order" accredited to these patriarchs!

5. Indeed the eyes of many recent historians have a much higher

¹⁹ Justinus, Historiae Philippicae, Book XXXVI, chap. ii.

²⁰ This name, long obscure, was interpreted by S. Fraenkel in the *Zeitschr. d. deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft* (1902), p. 72, thus: "It is the *Eliezer* apocopated in form through the confusion of the prophet."

goal than the ambition correctly to appreciate in its individuality the field of investigation just before them. Their chief aim is to see whether they cannot compare old-Israelitish history with other phases of historical life, if indeed they cannot bring them both to a common level. In many cases the result of this search is that they bring Abraham and the patriarchs in a general way into relationship with mythological conceptions of western Asia and particularly of Babylonia.

Thus they proceed on the theory that Abraham and the other two patriarchs were linked with certain sacred shrines, Abraham with Hebron, Isaac with Beersheba, and Jacob with Shechem. From this the conclusion is drawn that the three patriarchs were what is customarily designated as the *genii loci* or local deities. Then again it is urged that in Abraham's life obviously two rôles can be distinguished. At one time he plays the part of one of the two Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux; this is the case where he is linked with Lot. The other part he is supposed to assume when he is the brother and husband of his sister and wife, Sarah. Inasmuch as, according to the latest interpreters of the Old Testament, she is the goddess Ishtar (i. e., Astarte), as the latter appears in the Babylonian mythology, the divinity, for whom he in this second rôle was conceived to pose as the "heroic precipitate" (Niederschlag) who was essentially the moon-god.²¹

This hypothesis contains weak spots apparent even when viewed alone. Is the lowest layer in the foundation of this new structure safe? According to the authoritative documents are the patriarchs adjudged and honored anything like tutelary genii or the local divinities among the Romans?²²

In the old Hebrew historic materials there are a hundred counterproofs, but not one direct proof, since the patriarchs in their whole manner of life may be characterized as human. Not even a single indication of ancestor worship is exhibited in any of the patriarchal accounts. Or perchance will someone call to mind that an oak stood beside the grave of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse (Gen. 35:8), and will he seek to prove that the oak could have been a "holy tree"? Then we are forced to reply that the oak stood there before Deborah's burial,

²¹ These are theories of H. Winckler in his Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Vol. II (1900), pp. 23, 284.

²² Vergil's *Aeneid*, v:95: "Incertus geniumne loci, famulumne parentis esse putet."

that it was called the "oak of weeping" (not the oak of worship), and that the nurse of Rebecca was certainly no "good subject" to become later the object of patriarchal veneration.

But perhaps that general comparison of the patriarchs with Babylonian divinities possesses more merits in single portions of the narratives in point. Let us note what advantages are urged in favor of this new point of view.

Now, relative to the first patriarch, with whom alone this essay wishes to deal, the latest writers to outline the history of Israel, just alluded to, lay special stress on the words: "If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right, etc." (Am. R. V.). We already know on what occasion Abraham spoke these words to Lot, and we cannot do otherwise than find in these sentences an utterance very natural and in every way appropriate to that particular crisis. But what does the most modern historian of Israel do? He connects those words with the mythological conception that Castor and Pollux "never could be together; if one is in the under world, then the other is with Zeus."23 This combination of the old Israelitish tradition with Greek myth has miscarried completely, since Abraham and Lot were together at the first. Indeed, they were fellow-emigrants bound for Canaan. And were they not together again after the territorial demarcation of their respective pasturage (Gen. 13:0)? was again the case when the patriarch had rescued his kinsman from the hands of those enemies from the east (14:16). Besides, two brothers of Abraham appear in the record. What right have we to transform these men into twins, viz.: "Abraham and Lot, the uncle and the nephew"?24

Another trace of the mythological character of Abraham has been discovered, supposedly in the comment (Gen. 20:12), where he and his wife are spoken of as brother and sister. Here, they exclaim, ²⁵ is clearly expressed the fact that he was the spouse of Ishtar or Astarte,

²³ Thus H. Winckler, Himmel- und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Mythologie aller (!) Völker, p. 37.

²⁴ The ordinary mortal truly cannot comprehend how again recently, in spite of the plain situation pictured in the words, "If thou wilt take the left hand," etc., "twins-Dioscuri-motive" can be characterized as applicable to the stories about Abraham.

²⁵ Winckler, Himmel- u. Weltenbild, etc., p. 38.

because the latter according to Babylonian mythology had also married her brother. But in this reasoning an important circumstance in the passage cited was overlooked. His words to Abimelech are these: "And moreover she is indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother, and she became my wife" (Am. R. V.). Thus the woman whom Abraham had married was his half-sister or step-sister and marriage with one so related was. in polygamous circles, comparatively speaking quite natural, because in this environment each wife with her children made up a separate group within the collective family. How directly that truth is presented to the eve in that scene where first Leah with her children and then Rachel with her son Joseph passed by Esau as two distinct and separate companies (33:6 f.)! The unfortunate princess Tamar in her request to Ammon (II Sam. 13:13) presupposes the possibility of a marriage between a half-brother and half-sister. Consequently these critics have not the slightest justification in treating the nuptial tie between the first patriarch and his step-sister as a mark of the mythological strain in the treatment of this life-story.

Just now Abraham is compared to the moon because the latter is also "the wanderer." Perchance this motive hovered in the mind of the writer at the naming of the stages through which the first patriarch journeyed. "Abraham wandered from east to west as does the moon." Harran, the city of the god Bêl-Harran, signifies "way." Gerar, where he tarried as a stranger, makes a play on the word girru ("path").26

But in the first place was Abraham necessarily viewed as a "wanderer" by the Old Testament narrator, so that in consequence he could be brought into conjunction with the moon? At the very asking this question is to be denied, because many other persons also undertook long pilgrimages according to ancient records, as, for example, Nimrod or Terah. Indeed, for the Israelites the reason for considering Abraham "a wanderer" would be all the less imperative, because not he but his father Terah took the initiative at the emigration from Chaldea and the son was only taken along (11:31). Besides, the text neither intimates nor permits the thought that for Israel the removal from Harran fell under the head of a further "migration." This

²⁶ A. Jeremias, Das A. T. im Lichte des alten Orients (1906), p. 341.

exodus from native land, kindred, the paternal roof (12:1), is for the Old Testamment scribe much more characteristic of an enthusiastic self-devotion to a divine stimulus. With this interpretation of the term migration (12:1) before the mind—which in truth is the only one sanctioned by the text—should a "specialist" ever have stumbled on a "moon-motive"? The supposition is absolutely monstrous. Secondly, of what significance to the Old Testament biographer was the coincidence that Abraham traveled away from a center of moon worship? This writer put his departure from Harran into the narration, only because it meant the severance of all ties that bound him to the religious standards of his fathers.27 With this view of the matter, should the annalist who chronicles the hegira from Harran necessarily bring Abraham into correlation with the moon? neither to the scribe nor to the reader of that account can any such intellectual necessity be ascribed. Thirdly, the signification "way" for the name Harran is far from being well substantiated in the Hebrew, and just the same may be predicated of the meaning "path" attributed to the name Gerar. So much the less, then, is there any ground to assume that these places, during the life of the first patriarch, were thus designated, because to the intellect he symbolized the moon and "like the moon must perforce wander from east to west"?

These data yield again the conclusion that the trustworthiness of Abraham's history is undermined, if it ought to be set forth with careful attention to "mythological" or "astral" motives.

But finally even in the name of the first patriarch there is no ground for the new presentation. In the book last cited (p. 332) this affirmation is made: "The root conception of Ab, i.e., heavenly Father, in the appellation Ab-ram is akin to moon." But this cannot be thus decided with any degree of confidence or even probability. Since the name Ab-ram is to be derived like its nearest Hebrew analogies, and this form of the name is the shortened form of the original name Abiram, as the name was actually pronounced by the Hebrews in the case of persons less noted and therefore rarely mentioned (Num. 16:1, etc.), so Abiner and Abner remain in fact side by side as the proper and later form of exactly the same proper name.²⁸ But this

²⁷ This is the united testimony of Gen. 12:1; Josh. 24:2, etc.

²⁸ This point is exhaustively treated in my book, Neueste Prinzipien der alttestamentliche Kritik (pub. by Ed. Runge), pp. 64 ff.

name Abiram signifies "my father exalted or eminent," and thus the son of a distinguished father could just as well be known as the offspring of another man, this time in the aristocracy, and could receive the name Abinadab, "my father is free-born or noble." Indeed the cognomen Abi-ramu appears in the Babylonian-Assyrian as the name of common people, for example the eponymic official exercising authority in the year 667–666.²⁹ In addition the name "field of Abram" was found in an Egyptian list concerning an expedition against Palestine.³⁰

- 6. The comparative method, this pef of modern science, naturally calls for recognition in the sphere of biblical history. But as everywhere else in the application of this comparative method, one must also here, when making comparisons in the field of biblical antiquities, guard against the temptation of confounding "mere resemblance" with "identity." This (to be sure) self-evident verity must nevertheless again be reiterated with special emphasis, when finally in the sixth place the objections will be considered because of which the historicity of the first patriarch from the religious point of view can or ought to be placed in doubt.
- a) But to begin with, it can and must be accomplished after the same manner in which one now hears of the "religion of Abraham's servants."³¹ There one reads that the tradition brings the movement of the Abraham band into close connection with the two celebrated shrines of the moon-god (p. 331), and that "the roving about of this band is in reality a reformatory movement, protesting against the religious degeneration of the ruling class" (p. 333).

But the sources by no means suffer the person and mission of Abraham to be thus swallowed up by this troop composed of his servants.³² Again they do not at all bring his migration—about which alone we are concerned, if the spiritual-historical result is kept in view—into connection with the two sacred shrines of the moon-cult, but rather, if I may so express myself, into disassociation from them.

²⁹ Keilinschriften und Altes Testament (1903), p. 14.

³⁰ W. Spiegelberg, Aegyptologische Glossen zum A. T. (1904), p. 14.

³¹ A. Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients (1906), p. 211.

³² The widely accepted hypothesis that the names of the patriarchs and the sons of Jacob rest supposedly on the later personification of the tribes, is thoroughly treated in my book: "Neueste Prinzipien der alttest. Kritik, pp. 37–63.

They also know nothing of the inference that "the migration of Abraham's household was in truth a radical effort toward a reformation." If men wish to speak thereof, then please let them drop the appellation "Abraham"! According to the original documents his place in the history of religion rests not on a reformation but it ushers in a new epoch. His abiding significance does not even lie in the predication of monotheism—this false observation which in these days one so constantly hears affirmed. If this were true, then, to be sure, "Abraham's household" could be made the custodians of those stoutly maintained yet never securely established "monotheistic tendencies" in Babylonia. No! His signification for the history of religion is based on the communion with God founded on his personal call which cut him off intrinsically from national ties, but yet in their place bound him to the God-head and exalted him to the place of first citizen in a kingdom of grace destined ultimately to encircle the globe.

b) Certain deductions in the field of the history of religion supposedly put the historical reality of the first patriarch under suspicion. This some think ought to be done—some few who hold that the religion proper of Israel may not even be dated from the days of Abraham and desire at the same time to derive it by a natural process of evolution. This group of modern Old Testament students, to say the least, allows the question to remain befogged as to whether Abraham originally designated a swelling tide of humanity (Völkerwelle) or a conception of Deity. In any event on this point the religious achievements of an Abraham—even if he did, as reported, live as the leader of a tribe—are esteemed so lightly that they could never become a memorial of his existence in history.

Again, these critics believe³³ that good evidence favors them in maintaining that the patriarchs espoused fetishism. And still there is not found in all the source narratives on the life of Abraham the slightest trace of an idol—this too is exceedingly remarkable. There are those who wish to discover a worship of fetishes on the part of Jacob, when, after that dream of a ladder extending to heaven, he set up and anointed the stone on which his head had rested. But in the first place, the startled outcry of the patriarch is not, "How terrible is this stone!" but, "How terrible is this place!" Secondly, Jacob

³³ E. g., Stade, Alttestamentliche Theologie, I (1905), p. 48.

named not the stone but "this place" Bethel ("House of God") and said of the stone only: "This stone shall become a house of God." Thirdly, it is related of Jacob (35:1 ff.) that he ordered the idols buried which the members of his household had brought along from Mesopotamia. And still supposedly the same chronicler reported that this very person had erected a fetish. No! there is really too much confusion attributed by this hypothesis to biblical writers.

This method and result are the less intelligible because Wellhausen the principal representative of this company of Old Testament scholars has for the second time³⁴ openly admitted that from this point of view he could not give an adequate reply to the question, why the Moabite god Chemosh was not exalted to be the God of righteousness and the Creator of heaven and earth? Now if the principle of derivation from natural causes admittedly does not successfully lead to the elucidation of Israel's position in the history of religion, then the method itself must give way. The guiding minds in Israel well understood why the God whom they proclaimed was exalted above the national deity sacred to Moab. In addition Israel's leading spirits contended that the history of true religion began with the call of Abraham, even if this religion—for the education of Israel and all mankind—had still to pass through further development.

Consequently we may affirm that the historicity of the first patriarch still stands unshaken. All the stormy blasts which of late have beaten with fury against that oak have not been able to tear its roots loose from their solid foundation in history. Even today we have no occasion to discuss the migration or the religion of "Abraham's household." We need not; indeed, we dare not. The sources, remaining steadfast through all the (of course necessary) overturning of the old basal conceptions in history give us still the right to discuss the individual personality of Abraham, the first citizen in the kingdom of true religion, strong in faith and approved in obedience. Indeed, these ancient documents by their very contents lay upon us the duty thus to speak. Even in the twentieth century the tradition is still well based on the testimony of those who in the past centuries hailed Abraham as the ally and friend of God.

³⁴ In Die Kultur der Gegenwart, V, 4 (1906), p. 15. Some time before he made the same avowal in Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte (1901), p. 36.

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT IX. ATONEMENT IN THE TEACHING OF PAUL

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In turning to the teaching of the apostle Paul we find ourselves dealing with a mind for which the question of reconciliation with God, justification before God, was one of capital importance and for which, moreover, this question had immediate relation to the death of Jesus.

Partly because of the abundance of the material in Paul's letters, partly because there are some differences of emphasis between his earlier and later letters, partly because the authenticity of the earlier letters down to and including Philippians, regarded as the first of the letters of the Roman imprisonment, is more firmly established than that of Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles, it seems best to deal first with the teaching of the letters to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, and Philippians, and in a later chapter, and more briefly, with that of the later epistles.

Though these epistles are peculiarly rich in passages dealing with the fact of alienation between God and men, and with the cause of it, we must content ourselves with a few summary statements. The existence of such alienation is clearly and repeatedly affirmed by Paul (I Thess. 1:9; II Cor. 5:18-21; Rom. 1:18). The cause of it is found in sin, which is for Paul a comprehensive expression for all that is evil in the moral world (Gal. 5:19-21; Rom. 3:23; 5:12). The characteristic sins of the Gentiles, who as compared with the Jews are without law, yet are not devoid of divine revelation, but have a knowledge of God and of his law, are idolatry, sensuality, violence, sins both of heart and outward life, both against man and against God (Rom. 1:21 ff.; I Thess. 1:9; 4:5; Gal. 5:19-21; I Cor. 6:9 ff.). The Jews, also, to whom was intrusted the law, i.e., the revelation of the will of God in organized form, have failed to live in accordance with God's law. In general they have

been guilty of the same sins as the Gentiles, and in particular have relied upon obedience to statutes, circumcision and the Abrahamic covenant, to make them acceptable to God, rather than upon their righteousness of life (Rom. 2:3, 17-24, 25-27; Gal. 3:10, 11). That which is common to the sin of both Jew and Gentile, its central element, because of which men are guilty, is resistance to truth. "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold down the truth in unrighteousness."

Of sinless men, in the sense of men who have fully conformed to the law of God and can therefore stand before him on their own merits, there are none, save Jesus. Yet this does not mean that all men have been wholly given over to sin, and are objects of the divine wrath. There are those who by patient continuance in good works have sought, and not in vain, for glory and honor and incorruption. In other words, while all have sinned, and none are able to stand before God on a basis of legal merit, yet there are those who, filled with the desire after righteousness, and living uprightly, have sought and obtained divine approval (Rom. 1:18—3:20).

Concerning the origin of sin in the race the apostle speaks only incidentally and somewhat obscurely. Rhetorically objectifying, almost personifying, sin, he speaks of it as entering the race through one man, and as passing in some sense from him to his descendants (Rom. 5:12). Yet the idea of a race-sin has not been taken up into Paul's theology as a vital element of it. It is at most a remnant of his Judaic thought unassimilated to his Christian thinking. The only sin that Paul knows of is the doing of sin by men, or the deeds which they do, and for such doing or deeds he regards the individual sinner as guilty because they involve violence to his better knowledge.

In the experience of men, at least of those who have not on the one hand wholly surrendered themselves to evil, and on the other not fully attained unto righteousness, sin involves a constant internal conflict. The better self approves the good and strives to do the good. The evil side of man, which is associated with his physical nature, impels him to sin (Rom. 7:5). Even the law which forbids the evil at the same time stimulates the evil nature to oppose the good (Rom. 7:7-24). All this, however, is experiential, not philosophical;

it is but another expression of what has already been stated, namely, that sin involves resistance to or suppression of known truth. The "I" that does the evil, and the "I" that chooses the good, so that it is no longer "I" that do it, these are not for Paul two entities psychologically or philosophically distinguished, but two aspects of the self which every earnest man discovers within himself, but which few even attempt to define. For Paul the flesh as a physical thing was not morally evil, and as a moral thing was not a distinct entity, but simply the self doing evil in the face of a knowledge of good, and even a certain choice of good. Fundamentally it is action contrary to known truth that makes sin guilt, and is the cause of the divine disapprobation of men.

Although the teaching of Paul concerning the basis of forgiveness is so intimately associated with his utterances concerning the death of Christ that the former must be expounded chiefly in connection with the latter, yet there are certain elements of his teaching concerning justification which require to be stated before entering upon the discussion of the meaning of Jesus' death. Three propositions, all found in Paul's writings, demand attention.

- I. Jews and Gentiles alike are justified by faith only. This principle, established in the case of Abraham, has been in all periods since operative in God's relation with men, and now that God has revealed himself in his son Jesus Christ, it is with new clearness reannounced to all men (Gal. 2:16; 3:9; 5:5; Rom. 3:21—28; 4:1—5:2).
- 2. Christ is the minister of God for the reconciliation of the world unto God. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses (II Cor. 5:19). Ultimate deliverance from wrath, moreover, is through his life. It is only through the results of the life of Christ operative in men that they are ultimately delivered from that wrath of God which otherwise must have fallen upon them. Permanent peace with God, ultimate escape from his disapproval, is achieved only through righteousness. "We by faith through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness" (Gal. 5:5).
- 3. In the final judgment God will render to every man according to his works. To them that by patience in well-doing have sought

for glory and honor and incorruption, he will award eternal life; to the self-seeking that have obeyed not the truth, but have obeyed unrighteousness, there shall be wrath and indignation. This principle applies both to Jew and to Greek, and knowledge of law will justify none. In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men, not hearers of law, but doers thereof shall be justified (Rom. 2:5-16).

On the face of it the first and third of these teachings are in direct contradiction. On the one side Paul affirms that not by works of law, but by faith does God justify men, while on the other side, he explicitly affirms that according to his works shall every man be judged, and that only doers of law shall be justified. This seeming contradiction has even been made the basis of the assertion upon the part of certain modern critics that the Epistle to the Romans is a composite work representing contradictory points of view and doctrinal positions. But such criticism is in fact wholly superficial. One must indeed read more than the bare words, must penetrate somewhat beneath the surface of Paul's language, but it is not difficult to discover the doctrine which underlies both these statements. and of which both are but variant expressions. The judgments of God are according to truth; not indeed based upon a reckoning up of good and bad deeds, the one set down in bookkeeping fashion on the credit side, and the other on the debit side of the account, but upon actual character as God reads the heart, and as character manifests itself in life. Between this and the doctrine of justification by faith there is no contradiction. For in the thought of Paul faith is fundamentally a receptive and obedient attitude toward God's revelation of himself and his will, especially as this is made in Jesus Christ.

In dealing with Paul's teaching concerning the death of Christ we are confronted with so serious an embarrassment of riches that to discuss all the passages as the intrinsic significance of each would demand, is forbidden by the limitations of our space. We must be content to examine a few with care and to deal very summarily with the rest. In discussing these passages it is of less importance that we take them up in their chronological order than that we avoid the error of reading into them meanings that they do not con-



tain and then making the meaning thus imputed to them the basis for the interpretation of other passages. It is therefore expedient to begin with those passages which are most clear, or at any rate least obscure, and then proceed to those that are of less obvious meaning, guiding ourselves in the interpretation of these latter by the clearer meaning of the former. Adopting this order of treatment we may well begin with Rom. 5:5-10:

And hope putteth not to shame; because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit that was given unto us. For while we were yet weak, in due season Christ died for the ungodly. For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: for peradventure for the good man some one would even dare to die. But God commendeth his own love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath of God through him. For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more being reconciled shall we be saved by his life.

The purpose of the passage, 5:1-10, is to exalt the justification into which the believer enters by faith, by showing how much it involves, how much it carries with it; in particular by showing that if we are justified by faith, there is in this fact a well-grounded hope of final and complete salvation. The fulcrum of the argument, so to speak, is the love of God, which, on the one side proved by the death of Christ for our justification while we were yet sinners, on the other hand itself proves that God will not fail to save us from his wrath through Jesus' life. For our present purpose we have to note two points. (a) The death of Jesus is a convincing demonstration of God's love for sinners. God proves his love to us in that while we were vet sinners Christ died for us. (b) In the blood of Jesus, that is, in his death, we were justified; through the death of Jesus we, while we were enemies, were reconciled to God. "Reconciled" and "justified" (as passives) are practically synonymous terms. "In his blood" and "in his death" are equivalent expressions. these two propositions the first is entirely clear. To God his Son is infinitely precious. Yet even his Son he gave to die that we, sinners and objects of his wrath, might be reconciled to him. Herein is incontestable proof of God's love to sinful men. The wrath of God against sinners does not exclude love. The death of Christ is the more convincing proof of love because it was for sinners, objects of his wrath, that he gave his Son.

The same thought that the death of Jesus is a manifestation of the divine love is expressed by Paul again in the eighth chapter of Romans:

What shall we say to these things? If God is for us, who is against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not also with him freely give us all things? For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord (Rom. 8:31-38).

Akin to the thought that the death of Jesus is a manifestation of the divine love is also the conception that the death of Jesus is a manifestation of the love of Christ. Thus in Gal. 2:20, the apostle speaks with evidently deep feeling of "the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me." And in the midst of the passage just quoted in part from the eighth chapter of Romans, occurs the sentence, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" The expression "love of Christ," closely following a reference to the death of Christ, is evidently thought of as manifest in that death.

But to return to Rom. 5:5-10. The second proposition that through the death of Jesus we are justified, i. e., reconciled, taken into God's favor, is clear and unmistakable in itself. But there evidently lies behind it something that the statement itself does not disclose, viz., a thought as to what there is in the death of Jesus that should make it the basis of justification and reconciliation. For the answer to the question thus raised we shall have to look to other passages. And of these none is more important than Rom. 3:24-26:

Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, in his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done beforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, of his righteousness at this present season: that he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus.

Again limitations of space forbid us to enter into detailed interpretation of this most important passage and compel us to content ourselves with a summary of the propositions stated or clearly implied in it:

- 1. In the ages before the coming of Christ, God passed over sins of men; i. e., he suffered them in part to go unpunished.
- 2. This passing over of sins was an act of forbearance on God's part; i.e., these sins deserved and might justly have received a punishment which they did not receive.
- 3. As a consequence of this passing over of sins in forbearance the righteousness of God came under suspicion, i.e., because God did not punish sin to the full, the impression was created in men's minds that God was indifferent to sin, was not pained by it, was not indignant at it.
- 4. Under these circumstances, accordingly, God's righteousness having been brought under suspicion by his forbearing to punish sin to the full, God made a public manifestation which had for its object the removal of this suspicion and the demonstration to men that he was righteous, that he was not indifferent to sin.
- 5. This public manifestation consisted in a setting forth of Jesus in his blood, i. e., in his death before the eyes of all the world. It need scarcely be said that not the visible spectacle of Jesus on the cross, but the fact viewed in its moral and historical significance is what is chiefly referred to.
- 6. That which this public setting forth of Jesus shedding his blood proved is something which was already true, but which having become obscured was in this event made manifest. This is implied in the choice of the words "set forth" and "showing," the latter made emphatic by its repetition. The death of Christ is in the view of our present passage a demonstration. God presents him to the view of men dying, not puts him to death. And this presentation demonstrates God's righteousness, not creates or satisfies it. God had not failed to be righteous, he had only failed, through forbearance, to convince men that he was righteous. The death of Jesus is a demonstration to the world that what seems true of God is not true, but that so far from being indifferent to sin it is on the contrary a perpetual pain to him, that he perpetually disapproves it, is angry with it. At the same time the expression "that he might be

righteous" implies that a perpetual "passing over" without "demonstration" would not only seem but be unrighteous.

- 7. In Jesus thus set forth in his blood, thus demonstrating God's righteousness, showing that God is not indifferent to sin, God provides himself a propitiation, i. e., makes it possible for him to show mercy toward those toward whom otherwise he would have been compelled to show wrath.
- 8. This manifestation of Jesus Christ in his blood, through which God's righteousness is demonstrated, becomes propitiatory through faith on the part of the individual sinner. In other words it avails to turn away wrath not from all who have sinned, not from men in masses or nations, but from him who has faith.
- 9. These two last-named facts may be stated in other words, viz., that God set forth Jesus in his blood in order to prove his righteousness, this in turn having as its purpose that God might be righteous and accept the sinner who has faith in Jesus. Thus it is evident that the propitiousness of God, which is on condition of faith on man's part, is more specifically the acceptance of the sinner who has faith.
- 10. Thus in Jesus Christ is provided for men a redemption, a deliverance from the condemnation of sin: in the words of vs. 24 they are "justified through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."
- 11. This deliverance, viz., the acceptance of men on condition of faith apart from works of law, is undeserved on their part, a gratuitous act of grace on God's part.

Thus it appears that by direct assertion or by implication Paul represents the whole activity of God in this matter as one of grace. The sins of the past were passed over in forbearance. The demonstration of the divine righteousness which was needful to enable him to assume the forgiving and justifying attitude toward men was provided by God himself. The acceptance of men on condition of faith is expressly characterized as an act of grace.

While, therefore, the passage differs at first sight decidedly from Rom. 5:5-10 in viewing the death of Christ as a demonstration of the divine hostility to sin rather than of love, yet on closer comparison the same fundamental conception underlies it. If that passage expresses what we may venture to term the unreasoned intuitive interpretation of the fundamental meaning of the death of Jesus,

this shows the result of the apostle's reflection upon the specific end which God sought through that death to achieve, without in any degree modifying or qualifying the view of the fifth chapter. Even for divine love there are in Paul's view conditions subject to which it must achieve its end. Two of these conditions are set forth in this passage. Forgiveness, acceptance with God, is possible only when on the one hand there is an adequate demonstration of the divine righteousness, and on the other hand faith on the part of him who is to be forgiven.

But this leads again to the raising of several questions, viz.: How does the setting forth of Jesus in his blood make manifest the righteous ness of God? How does the exhibition of Jesus in his blood become propitiatory? Why is the death of Jesus propitiatory through faith?

It must be admitted at the outset that Paul neither here nor elsewhere has returned direct answers to these questions. Yet it is scarcely possible that he had no answers to them. And we can but make the attempt to bridge the chasms in his expression of his thought with such answers as are at least consistent with what he has himself expressed.

The first question is the most difficult to answer. How does the death of Jesus make manifest the righteousness of God? Righteousness is here, as the context shows specifically, the hostility of God to sin, the opposite of indifference to it. How does the suffering and death of Jesus demonstrate that God is not indifferent to sin? Some have been ready to answer that God's righteousness had been brought under suspicion by his failure to punish sin; it is now vindicated by the fact that the accumulated penalty of these sins is borne by Jesus in his death. Nor can it be denied that there are some expressions of Paul which might seem at first sight at least to favor such an interpretation. "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf that we might become the righteousness of God in him." "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law. becoming a curse for us." Yet it must be observed that these passages, whatever be their true interpretation, do not in any case convey precisely the thought which is by this interpretation attributed to the passage in Romans. Paul does unquestionably conceive of the death of Christ as on behalf of men, and in a sense as instead of

men. Yet he never affirms that the righteousness of God demands punishment of every sin, still less that it could be satisfied or vindicated by the endurance of punishment by another than the sinner. And certainly this passage is very far from conveying by anything which it expresses such a conception of the divine righteousness. It cannot therefore be claimed that we are shut up to this interpretation of the apostle's language, or that it is directly sustained by any other utterance of his.

On the other hand there is another explanation of his thought, which, though also nowhere expressly put forth by Paul, almost necessarily results from things which he has said. For it may well be that the apostle's underlying thought is that the death of Jesus demonstrates God's hostility to sin, through its exhibition of Jesus' own abhorrence of sin. Let several utterances of Paul be considered together: (a) Jesus is the image of God, the revelation of the glory of God (II Cor. 4:4-6). (b) God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, i. e., in Christ God is revealed reconciling the world to himself (II Cor. 5:20). (c) The reconciliation of the world is effected through the death of Jesus. (d) The death of Jesus manifests God's love and Jesus' own love. In this, therefore, there is illustrated the general principle that Jesus is the revelation of God, that what we see Jesus to be we may infer God to be. (e) But the death of Jesus also manifests both God's hostility to sin (Rom. 3:25) and Jesus' own hostility to sin (Rom. 6:10). It is natural, therefore, to infer that when the death of Jesus is said to be a demonstration of God's hostility to sin, it is in accordance with the principle that in the face of Jesus Christ we see the character of God. If this falls short of demonstration, and it must be admitted that it does, it is at least to be said in its favor that it is in perfect harmony with all that the apostle says, and that it adds to what is expressly said only that which is needful to make the thought complete, and only what is in perfect analogy to what is expressly said.

It may help to apprehend the apostle's thought if we endeavor to conceive vividly the situation which he had in mind, even though we cannot be sure that he thought of that situation in just the way in which he describes it. Jesus was crucified on the cross by men who hated him and whose deepest reason for hating him was the holiness of his character. He had claimed to be in the fullest possible sense the representative of God the Father. In spite of the substantiation of this claim by a

If, then, from the examination of this passage in the third chapter of Romans we return to consider the second of the two propositions which we found clearly stated in Rom. 5:9, 10, viz., that in the death of Jesus men are justified, reconciled to God, we find that it furnishes the answer to the question, what there is in the death of Jesus which makes it the basis of justification and reconciliation. Remembering that the two passages stand in the same epistle, only a few pages apart, and in the same general course of argument, we can but assume that the thought which is unexpressed but assumed in the fifth chaplife of holiness, rather because of this substantiation, men hated him and delivered him up to death. His suffering is therefore an exhibition of the hostility of the world to God's holiness. Far deeper, we must believe, than any physical pain connected with the suffering of the cross was the pain that came to Jesus in the consciousness that men so hated holiness and therein, however much they professed or even believed the contrary, really hated God, as to put to death him who manifested the divine holiness. In this Jesus is God's representative to us. In his suffering on the cross we have a manifestation more clear than anywhere else in the world of the true nature of sin and at the same time of the pain which such sin continually inflicts on God. It is the fullest manifestation of human sin because here we see most clearly illustrated that spirit which would lead men, if only they had the power, to put God out of his own universe; it is the fullest manifestation of the divine pain at sin, because at no other point in human history does God so uncover to us his heart as it suffers under the stroke of human sin.

The cross of Christ is in this view simply the emergence into the plane of human history, into the sight of human eyes, of the eternal divine tragedy. It is God's perpetual word to us that every sin of man smites him to the heart. The death of Christ is not the concentrated accumulation of the divine pain—it is the momentary laying bare to the gaze of men of that fact which is as old as sin, and will last while sin lasts, that the sin of man is a blow at God, which he feels with all its force. Thus is Jesus' death the manifestation of the sensitiveness of God to sin, i. e., of his righteousness.

But Jesus is also in his death man's representative. It is the continual representation of the apostle that Jesus died for men, on their behalf. He is a member of the human race. As such he joins himself in closest sympathy with men, his fellowmen. By virtue of this close union, this profound sympathy he realizes intensely the hostility of God toward sin, because it is directed against his fellowmen. Being himself holy, he knows how God looks at sin; being a man in closest sympathy with men he realizes what the anger of God against men is, and suffers intensely in the consciousness that his fellowmen are the objects of the divine disapproval and anger. Him who knew no sin, he made to be sin for us. He became for us a curse that he might redeem us from the curse. Thus he suffers on behalf of men for their sins, because this suffering is caused by their sin, by this close and vital and sympathetic, though voluntary union with men; and at the same time through their knowledge of his suffering he manifests to men the true nature of God's attitude toward sin. Thus in this aspect of his sufferings also is there a manifestation of that righteousness of God which had been brought under suspicion by his forbearance with sin.

ter is the same that is set forth in the third chapter. We conclude, therefore, that when in Rom. 5:9, 10, the apostle speaks of men as justified in Christ's blood and reconciled to God through the death of his Son, it is probable that his thought is that through this death there is afforded such a demonstration of the divine attitude to sin as makes possible the forgiveness and acceptance into favor of those who have faith in Jesus.

It is certainly in favor of this interpretation that it is more consonant with the apostle's clearly expressed dictum, that the judgment of God is according to truth than that which finds in his words the intimation that Jesus endured penal suffering on behalf of men; while it by no means denies to them the expression of that true vicariousness which the apostle repeatedly affirms of the suffering of Jesus.

The answer to the second question, How does the death of Jesus become propitiatory by its demonstration of divine righteousness, is less difficult, being indeed almost immediately suggested by the context. The passing over of sins had brought the divine righteousness under suspicion. This cannot always continue. God must not only be righteous, it is a necessity of his righteous relation to men that he shall leave them in no reasonable doubt respecting his righteousness. It is in particular a necessary condition of forgiveness, the acceptance of the sinner. To accept a sinner under circumstances which would imply that such acceptance was grounded in indifference to sin would itself be to encourage sin. Hence a demonstration of divine righteousness, such as can leave no room for doubt concerning God's attitude toward sin, is the necessary basis of propitiation. The death of Christ is propitiatory because by its furnishing such a demonstration it makes possible a gracious attitude on God's part toward the sinner. This is indeed almost exactly what Paul says in vs. 26, viz., that this demonstration of righteousness was made in order that God might be righteous and the justifier of him that believes in Jesus, two things which but for the manifestation of the divine righteousness in the death of Jesus would have been inconsistent, the acceptance of one not really and fully righteous in itself and unaccompanied by some correcting demonstration implying that God did not disapprove sin and hence was not righteous.

Nor is the answer to the third question, why faith is necessary to propitiation, difficult if only we hold firmly to the apostle's conception of the nature of God's judgment and the nature of faith. He speaks of Jesus set forth in his blood as propitiatory through faith, implying that the death of Christ has no propitiatory power in respect to the unbelieving. It is distinctly implied also that the propitiation of God must not be inconsistent with the manifestation of his righteousness, since the setting forth of Christ as a propitiation has as one purpose of it the manifestation of that righteousness. By the parallelism of his sentence Paul implies that the being propitious toward men is the acceptance of them. How then does faith make possible the acceptance of men? Now faith, as the apostle thinks of it is, as already stated, a receptive and obedient attitude toward God's revelation of himself and of his will. The faith of Abraham is of essentially the same character, Paul implies, as his own Christian faith. Such faith is itself incipient and germinal righteousness. It is the keeping of the law of God in its inmost essence. It contains also the promise and potency of complete and actual righteousness, since it is the opening of the door of the soul to God, through which God enters, never again to depart and never to give over his work until it is complete. By faith we wait for the hope of righteousness; and he who has begun in us a good work will go on to complete it.

Now to accept as righteous one who has such faith in Jesus is simply to recognize the germ as existing and as containing the promise and potency of the full fruit. It is to treat men in accordance not merely with the actual moral attainments of the present moment, but in accordance with what they are in fundamental character, and with what they are certain to become in actual conduct and character. It does not involve the assertion that men are now actually all that God requires, but that they are fundamentally so, and that there is in their fundamental rightness the potentiality of full attainment, a potentiality which is certain to become an actuality.

Thus faith makes possible propitiation and justification. Moreover, it is an indispensable condition of propitiation. To accept as righteous one who has no faith, is to accept as righteous one who is not righteous and gives no promise of becoming righteous. This would be not to prove but to disprove the divine righteousness. The death of Jesus is propitiatory only because it provides a means by which God is able consistently with the maintenance of his righteousness to be merciful to the sinner; it is propitiatory only in respect to those who have faith, since the acceptance as righteous of one who does not by faith lay hold on God would be a demonstration that God was indifferent to the distinction between righteousness and unrighteousness. The death of Jesus cannot avail to make this possible, for it is a contradiction of exactly that which the death of Jesus was intended to demonstrate. Propitiation is not withheld from those who have no faith. It has intrinsically no effect in respect to them.

Thus in Jesus Christ is provided for sinners a redemption, a deliverance from the condemnation of sin. From the penalty of sin which otherwise must have been inflicted upon sinners, that the divine righteousness might be manifested or even maintained, there is provided for all who will believe a way of deliverance, because in the suffering and death of Jesus Christ has been found another method of making manifest the righteousness of God, and so a basis of reconciliation to God of all who have faith. This death he suffered on our behalf. He died that we might not die. His death is at once a demonstration of God's disapproval of sinners and of his love and of Christ's love for them. But this demonstration is of no avail for the reconciliation of the sinner unless there be faith on the part of the sinner. Him who has faith God accepts, because in that faith is germinal righteousness and the possibility of a complete achievement of God's purpose respecting man. By such faith men come into moral fellowship with the living Christ; and by his life they attain unto righteousness and are saved from wrath. death of Jesus is revelatory. The life of Jesus is dynamic. That death furnishes a demonstration of God's attitude toward men on the basis of which they who by faith partake of his life may be reconciled to God.

[The discussion of the Pauline Teaching will be continued in the next study.]

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER XII. DUTIES OF THE CHURCH IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

I. THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH

The characteristic duty of the church is to promote worship, to further religion—with us of course the Christian religion. Religion has several aspects. It is hearing the word of God sent through men to mankind. It is also a response in worship to the voices of God. It is also inspiring and directing religious motives to the good of humanity, the outflow of faithful love in varied ministrations, the precise form of ministration being always defined by the need of the people where the church is planted. Hence the particular duties of a Christian congregation in a city must be discovered by a careful, even a scientific, study of the city itself and its problems.

II. AGENCIES OF THE CHURCH

The Christian church is responsible for its vast and growing resources. It has the local congregations of all denominations with their real estate, meeting-houses, halls, members with varied talents and social influence. The churches have created and now support various societies, with their equipment: The Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and others. The churches have built up parochial schools, academies, colleges, universities, and invested in these many millions of money. There are also the endowed publication houses and their rich annual income from sales. There are also numerous hospitals, charitable and reformatory associations, and educational agencies directly or indirectly under church control or influence.

III. PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF THESE AGENCIES IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

In our theological schools the arts of preaching, pastoral service, church administration, religious teaching and missionary labor are taught; and the teaching has been embodied systematically in a large number of books. It is not to be expected that we should attempt to repeat this instruction here. We shall seek only to bring to consciousness certain factors which are too much overlooked and neglected by church workers in cities.

- r. Of the moral necessity of "making disciples" of men of all nations there is in theory no doubt. All Christian churches admit the duty, and a Christian man who can remain quite easy in mind without at least doing a little to proclaim the gospel throughout the city is a rarity, let us hope. The command of the Lord is plain; the need of the people is apparent; all the value we set on our religion makes it imperative to share our best treasures with our less-favored neighbors. Few of us have quite forgotten that we are saved by Him who seeks the lost.
- 2. We must pass with bare mention the traditional and ordinary methods of evangelization: the family life, the Sunday school, the church services. We are acquainted, at least in well-to-do neighborhoods, with the "attractive" methods of securing attendance, the eloquent preacher, the popular music, the lighted audience room, the genial welcome. Then, when we discover that many refuse to be attracted, we go out aggressively to "compel them to come in." Street preaching is practiced, at least by the Salvation Army and by some regular ministers whose zeal burns hotly. Here and there we invade a theater or popular concert hall and touch a new audience.

Recently the Young Men's Christian Association has secured a brief hearing for a kind and genial message at the noon hour in shops. Multitudes hear the gospel; alas! multitudes are indifferent. The statistics of Protestant work in our larger cities are depressing.

IV. MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH TO THE GENERAL WELFARE OF URBAN POPULATIONS

We have already indicated the service of the church in respect to the highest, noblest, most enduring element of welfare—the life of worship. Whatever the church does or leaves undone it must help men to love God.

But is preaching the only way to persuade mankind to love God? How do we teach our own children to love us? Merely by catechisms

on filial duties? Chiefly rather by caresses, by food, by comfort, by all sorts of deeds and sacrifices through the years. God never breaks the silence with mere words; he speaks in perpetual gifts of fruitful earth and kind human nature. He gave his Son, and only after Calvary was the gospel reduced to a written word. The church must learn the divine way to men's hearts, and must show its faith by its works of love; and so in all its best ages it has done; only now the task is more difficult.

I. The settlement method.—The common ground of friendship and sociability is first of all to know our neighbors in cities. We must have at least some representatives of the churches who live in daily, friendly, sympathetic contact with the people. The Protestant churches are very generally a long distance from the colonies and districts of immigrants and laborers, and therefore our pastors, teachers, and members have a very dim notion of the hopes, fears, anxieties, ambitions, tastes, beliefs, sufferings, prejudices, sacrifices, and character of the multitudes who come from other lands, bringing their customs and faiths-with them. Stupid blunders are committed by kind people because they wound feelings of persons whose springs of conduct are different from their own.

The tendency of immigrants to gather and remain in cities, especially cities of the northern states, creates a situation which makes church work extremely difficult and also exceedingly important. Something can be learned from books and magazine articles, but more from residence.

Any family can establish a settlement. Whether it is wise to take young children into a doubtful neighborhood each man must judge for himself. Many a district of poor people is quite as virtuous as a boulevard, if not so fine. But a young physician, lawyer, skilled artisan, teacher, business man, can make his residence for a few years in a neighborhood of wage earners and make friends among them. If he is democratic and tactful he may acquire political influence among them and help them secure more efficient administration of city government.

Cities must have an agency to mediate between the immigrants

¹ The Church and the Immigrant in Cities; Howard B. Grose, Aliens or Americans?; John R. Commons, Races and Immigrants in America.

and the religious, educational, and political institutions already established. A Protestant church in a colony of Catholics or Jews is hated; a "mission" is despised; the form of service is repulsive; the crude music of the Salvation Army jars on the nerves of the Italians. With the kindest intentions our church methods often collide with the feelings of people we would win, because we do not know them. They do not understand us nor our language; our creed is heresy to them; all attempts to proselyte are regarded as devilish enticements to disloyalty to ancestral faith.

Between hostile camps we need a common ground for meeting under a white flag of truce. The public school is one such place, for there partisanship in politics and creed is forbidden. But the public school has its limitations. The social settlement in American cities is intended to do what "missions" cannot do. To offer a foreign colony a mission is to brand them aliens and godless, as well as inferior. This is resented; for the immigrant becomes democratic, equal of all, when his toes touch Ellis Island. The settlement has an open door and permits free discussion which few churches can tolerate. If a workingman cannot express his own ideas on an equality he turns his back on the place in contempt, and warns his comrades to keep away. Many of the dingy halls, where services are conducted by ill-trained leaders, are felt to be an insult. The settlement has very often broad-minded, educated residents who are genial and patient with people who differ from them in many ways. He who goes among workingmen to "convert" them to his own economic, political, or theological creed soon finds that his neighbors prefer to convert him; at least they will not give him more than half the time. A dogmatist or revivalist of a common type does more harm than good, and in all our cities the churches and missions have steadily retreated before the immigrant flood. The settlements are sometimes overrated; they are few and feeble in resources; but they have a use and perform an indispensable service as interpreters of citizens to each other.

In a great city an economic or political revolution may ripen before college professors or preachers even know of its beginnings. The settlement residents of the best kind act as outposts and observers and warn us of the danger of our neglect. In our comfortable homes

and luxurious churches, especially when we dodge taxes and duties in suburban residences, we know the Bohemian, Lithuanian, and Polish laborers no better than if they were still over sea. We need settlements to discover the facts and illumine our ignorance and correct our provincial conceit and Phariseeism.

Many earnest Christians will have nothing to do with settlements, count it a sin to give them money, because they do not hold revival meetings or Sunday schools. This is unreasonable; for the same persons pay for the support of public schools, parks, art galleries, and other public means of good with which prayer-meetings are not connected. Has anyone heard of an evangelical deacon or minister who refused a 10 per cent. dividend in a bank or gas company because the directors did not say grace before they voted payments on shares? Let us be consistent. Some of the most vital and important methods of church work have been suggested by experiences in settlements.

2. Philanthropic activities.—The social service of members of the church will ordinarily be applied most economically and fruitfully through other organizations. It is unwise for each church to establish and maintain its own institutions, hospitals, child-saving societies, newsboys' homes, day nurseries, custodial asylums for the feebleminded, playgrounds, free baths, schools, wage-earners' societies insurance companies, political reform societies, and scores of others.

There are cases, of course, where an individual church may have the wealth and power to erect an institution of some importance, and it may be duty to take advantage of the opportunity. But all the really great social work can be done only by co-operation of all well-disposed people in the city. But will not the church fail to get credit for its charity if it joins forces with citizens in general, many of whom may be heretics and agnostics? This fear is frequently expressed. But is the church so poor in good works that it needs to stand apart from its neighbors? Is the first consideration a reputation? Is not the primary duty to do good in the wisest way and leave to God and man the care of reputation? Is the principle of Jesus not applicable to churches as to individual Christians that one must lay down his life, even bury it as good seed is covered, in order that life may be abundant? That church which manifests all the traits of a frank vigorous, sensible, and co-operative neighbor will have all the credit

it deserves for its generous deeds, while if it shrivels into a petty representative of schism and sect it loses touch with all the largeminded men who are trying to establish philanthropic enterprises on modern scientific foundations and on a scale worthy of the city and adequate to its demands. In division and selfishness there is weakness; in union there is strength.

A few examples will illustrate the meaning, and they will be given in connection with an analysis of the philanthropic, educational, reformatory and political movements which call for a vast number of zealous, able, and persistent workers.

Familiar acquaintance with the people of a city will reveal more or less distinct groups or strata, each with its own problems and requirements, each calling for a different and suitable kind of social service.

The depressed.—Under this designation we include for the present discussion: (1) Dependents; (2) defectives; (3) abnormals; (4) the anti-social, vicious and criminal. The work of the church to the members of these groups has of late years been called the "Inner Mission." This field is so wide, its problems so complex, and the co-operation of the commonwealth outside of cities so necessary that it is given a special chapter in this series. At this point we may ask consideration for certain principles which should govern the relation of the church to charities and corrections.

The church should regard all its charity as only a part of the philanthropic system of the city and of the commonwealth. If it gives relief to needy families in their homes it should be in full knowledge of what is done by other agencies for the same families. Every church should have a representative in the district committee of the charity organization society, by whatever name that organization may be locally known. Generally the members of a church can do more effective service by co-operating with some existing charitable society, and carrying into it the fervor and zeal of religion, than by adding another feeble agency to the multitude already existing.

The organization of municipal charities is not a function of a church, and it must be under the guide of experts. No doubt a group

² See Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes, by C. R. Henderson.

of young Christians or of benevolent women may accept from a charity organization society a specific task to be carried out in harmony with what other groups are doing, under the trained directors; but it is wasteful and selfish to work without regard to the general plan, ignore others, and almost cretainly interfere with wise and comprehensive plans.

For dejectives—the blind, the deaf, the crippled—the churches, as such, have no proper facilities for education; but they ought not to neglect and forget the municipal and state schools which train such children. In cases of destitution churches may well supplement the public schools by gifts and by personal friendly attentions. At present comparatively little is done for crippled children, and yet there are many of them, and their need of protection is often very great.³

The abnormals (feeble-minded, idiotic, imbecile, insane, epileptic) are a state charge and require public care and custody. The church has no call in this country to erect and maintain hospitals and colonies for their proper treatment; but here again representatives of the church should visit the state institutions, study their methods and results, help to prevent abuses and aid the authorities in securing grants of legislatures for needed improvements.

The anti-social—vicious and criminal—must be watched and disciplined chiefly by the state, by counties, and by cities. Churches can help members of these classes best through "Howard Associations," refuges for erring girls, prisoners' aid societies, etc.

3. Co-operation with wage earners.—The second great group is composed of wage earners and their families. They only occasionally need charitable relief, when individuals drop down out of the wage earners' group into the group of the depressed. It is a fatal mistake of many well-meaning church leaders to offer charity to members of this group. The offer is felt as an insult. The demand of industrial men is for justice, a fair chance, not for philanthropy and patronage. The elements of a social policy affecting the interests of this group, especially in cities, have been discussed elsewhere.⁴

³ Write to editor of *Children's Charities*, 79 Dearborn St., Chicago, for information about an institution for crippled children.

⁴ See chap. v, "Social Duties to Workingmen."

- 4. Attitude of the church to the rich.—There is another group which requires quite as serious study and earnest effort of the church—the business class, the captains of industry, and the leisure class, which seems to be emerging from the busy group. Indeed there are very marked evidences that a considerable number of Americans are killing themselves by excessive devotion to business in order that their children may vegetate in the next generation as parasites on the industrious. This is not true of all rich people; but it is already a notorious evil and is rapidly increasing.
- 5. Education.—The opportunity of the church in relation to education is indicated in another place. It is vastly better for the church to help create intelligent interest in the public schools than to duplicate the buildings and grounds and maintain parochial schools, leaving the public schools to suffer by neglect or even by enmity.
- 6. *Political life* in cities sadly needs the aid of the church; but not by alliance with parties. This is discussed in other places.

"And I saw the holy city. And I saw no temple therein" (Rev. 21:2, 22). The most sacred city needs no sun because God is its light, no sanctuary because all is holy. This is the ideal toward which the church in a city works, the sanctification of streets, alleys, shops, parks, recreations, government, business.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Learn the number of persons and families of various races and nations in the city, or in the county. Discover to what religious denomination they belong and how many have abandoned all churches. Make a map of the district showing the distribution of foreigners, the location of their churches and parochial schools. Learn something of the country of their origin; its laws, customs, faiths.

Learn about the industries, dwellings, education, political activities of the foreigners of the district. What is their attitude to the saloon? What good qualities do they manifest?

Inquire at the post-office how much money they send each year to their relatives abroad, and for what purposes.

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IS OUR PRESENT SEMINARY HEBREW WORTH WHILE?

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Now that we no longer think of Hebrew as the language of Eden and the original tongue, no longer think of it as peculiarly sacred, the language of the Almighty himself, in which he spoke to primitive man and in which he wrote with his own finger on the stony Tables of the Law, and the language we shall all speak beyond the Shadow; now that we no longer believe that the whole Bible, while containing the history, and largely the explanation, of two of the great religions of the world, is a faultless and infallible book, is it not possible to take a new and different view of the study of the language so long insisted on in our schools of theology? Under past conditions that insistence was not unnatural. When the Bible was the only and complete rule of faith and practice and contained the only words God had ever spoken to man, and when the man of God was to find there, mainly if not wholly, the ground and the substance of his message, what more natural and reasonable than to assume that he should be able to go to the original record of the message and read it as it came from the divine lips or fingers? It might not be necessary always to bring into the sacred desk the verba ipsissima, the literal fruits of his communing with the holy text, till

> Words of learned length and thundering sound Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around;

but at least he should have read the message as it came from on high.

But how changed the conditions today! Not all the message, we have come to see, is in one book, or in any book. Nature, science, art, experience and life, and society—a thousand voices speak the word

of revelation, and

God fulfills himself in many ways.

"There are, it may be," the apostle reminds us, "so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them without significance. If, then,

I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be to him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh will be a barbarian to me." With the accents of all these voices the man of God must become at least a little familiar while fitting himself for his work, and not give, during that time of preparation, to one voice only all the attention it will need if it is to be heard intelligently during the years of practical service; and when that service actually begins, he must listen daily to more than a single voice.

Then the degree of knowledge of the Old Testament tongue which seemed sufficient in olden days is quite insufficient now, if the minister is to depend on his own knowledge of the language, a condition presupposed, as we shall see, by the very fact of his study of the language to any elaborate degree. To be able, with grammar and lexicon, laboriously or even with some facility, to pick out the meaning of a Hebrew sentence is not enough when the vexed and perplexing passages, the only ones, really, which call for a study of the original, demand some acquaintance, at least, with the forms and usages of cognate Semitic languages and a knowledge of modern critical questions not to be acquired if the time is taken for a thorough and exact mastery of Hebrew. If the minister must thus depend on his own knowledge of the language, there must be, it should seem, not only a neglect of other important sides of his work, but also a pitiful waste of time and effort, since the purpose in view fails to be achieved.

I have the confession of a student friend of long ago, which bears upon the present question. The conditions in his case were singularly favorable. Passionately fond of linguistic, perhaps above all other, studies, he had already achieved in college considerable success with Greek and Latin, and later, during a three years' interval between college and seminary, had by himself made a beginning with the Hebrew grammar, so that, when the formal study in the seminary was taken up, the language had already lost not a little of its mystery and strangeness. Of French and German, too, he had a fair reading knowledge available for use in the Old Testament study. Two years at least of the seminary course were largely devoted to a close and exact study of the Hebrew grammar and text. The former book bore many a marginal note and query; and not only were large

passages of the text, as in Job and the Psalms, read and discussed, but English forms and combinations were turned into Hebrew. A separate Chaldee grammar was bought, that those Old Testament forms might be better apprehended, while longing eyes were turned in the direction even of Arabic and Syriac for the light which they might throw, though the longing indeed never was realized. Later, in his first parish, he continued his studies by careful readings in Bleek and Ewald.

What was the result? Had he been aiming at some Semitic chair, all this work would have told as an initial preparation, and a fairly successful career might have been predicted for him. But in the actual work of the ministry, which really followed, the result, as he told it, was one to make very doubtful the wisdom of his seminary effort. What was the result? Simply that to be faithful to the work of pulpit and parish, and to the claims of various reading, no time was left to apply the knowledge so laboriously acquired in the seminary. He could indeed understand and appreciate a scholarly discussion of an Old Testament passage, where it turned upon a Hebrew form or pointing, but could do no original work or investigation, and gradually the fairly good acquaintance he had won with the language began to fade and grow insubstantial, until at last—so his confession painfully runs—some of the very characters themselves grew shadowy and obscure.¹

But why should the minister in actual work "do original work or investigation" in the Hebrew text? "If the minister is to depend on his own knowledge of the language" we wrote; but why must he depend on his own Hebrew knowledge? Must we learn Persian to appreciate the *Rubaiyat*? or Finnish to read the *Kalevala*? or Chineseto read the *Kings*? Even when Assyriology is coming to have such a bearing upon Old Testament studies, must we severally take up cuneiform in order to appreciate the significance of the Code of Hammurabi with reference to the Mosaic tradition? Must Emerson swim the Charles River to Boston when there are good, safe roads and bridges he can use? What are translations for? And what student in the

¹ Years later, however—he admits—the old Hebraic spark quickened a little when a young man came to him for help, who had begun to preach in a neighboring parish, but whose license his seminary authorities had conditioned on his reading at least so many pages of the Hebrew Bible.

seminary or, at any rate, what minister in active work, can hope to equal in scholarship the men whose whole lives have been given to a patient, microscopic study of the language and the text? Why did Ewald write his grammar and why have other specialists used it in making a translation of the text, if we tyros are to attempt the work all over again? What can amateurs—if amateurs they can be called to whom the study of Hebrew is a dreadful bore—what can amateurs hope to accomplish in comparison with the results ready to their hands from the critical masters of the language?

But the masters, we are reminded, do not always agree, and when doctors disagree what shall lay people do? Must they not have knowledge enough to listen to the discussion, to appreciate the conflicting arguments, and to draw their own conclusions? The answer is plain: it is a case where the old maxim does not hold good,

A little learning is a dangerous thing, Drink deep or taste not the Pierian Spring.

To this end why should not a series of a dozen or a score of lectures in the seminary course, followed or accompanied by the careful and constant study of a handbook, put the earnest student, intelligent enough to be in the ministry at all, in a position to avail himself of, and to understand, the teachings and announcements of the great scholars and specialists?

Tentatively such a course might cover heads like these:

- 1. The Semitic sisterhood of languages, their relationship to each other, and their possible kinship, if it can ever be established, with the Aryan family.
 - 2. The triliterality of the Semitic group.
- 3. The consonantal nature not only of these triliteral stems, but of all the derivative forms, only consonants appearing in the proper text, to be vowelized or vocalized by the reader, as best he could.
- 4. The fruitful source which this feature became of various and often perplexing, because absolutely incongruous, readings, the same combination of textual letters yielding not only different verbal or substantive *forms*, but absolutely different *root meanings*, according to the vowels supplied.²
- ² An interesting illustration of this is seen in the form מלמות found in Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, repeatedly in Job, and noticeably in the favorite twenty-third

- 5. The Hebrew tense system, or want of system.
- 6. The comparative poverty of the language in particles giving shades of connection, and the extreme simplicity of the Hebrew syntax as, for the most part, a mere succession of co-ordinate propositions, with little attempt at periodic subordination.
 - 7. The relation and influence of the Aramaic forms.
 - 8. The Semitic inflectional system.
- 9. The parallelism of the Hebrew muse, appearing not only in the definitely poetic compositions, but also often in the loftier flights of the prophets, and the exegetic help often afforded by these parallelisms.
- 10. The actual relation of the so-called "Chaldee" to the Babylonian (or Assyrian) tongue, now so much talked of in connection with the cuneiform tablets. The latter language not being, we are told, identical with the Chaldee, as sometimes supposed, but nearer the Hebrew.
- 11. The language of Palestine in the time of Jesus—was it Aramaic or Greek?

How interesting and important this last topic, for example, may prove to be is apparent from its relation to the question what Jesus actually said and meant, if we have to read his words through the media not of two but of *three* languages, one of them quite dissimilar to the others, and how the whole story of his life may have to be modified in view of this situation.

Such studies as these, of moderate length and supplemented by parallel and also later private reading, would put the minister in a position to comprehend and profit by the results of the great masters' studies, in whose presence we ministers must all be laymen.

The question of Hebrew studies other than those pursued by the specialists, who make the language, or the whole group of Semitic languages, the subject of life-long and microscopic investigation, is

Psalm. The traditional and long accepted pointing makes it read בּוֹלְמְיָר, shadow-of-death; but Ewald tells us that such compounds are, except in proper names, practically unknown to the Hebrew, and we must use rather the pointing בּוֹלְמִירָּה, with the sense shadowiness. That the error is as old as the LXX reminds us only that we must use their version with discretion. And if at first there is a sense of loss in finding no definite mention of death in this lovely idyl, there may be a gain, too, in the thought that through every shadow that can darken life the tender Shepherd leads us.

not unrelated to the other and larger question now becoming acute in our colleges and universities, as to the value and wisdom of any general study of languages no longer living. We have not forgotten the sensation caused by Mr. Charles Francis Adams' attack on the study of Greek a few years ago, itself perhaps due to Professor Youman's earlier inquiry as to "the culture demanded by modern life." And now that Greek has become largely optional, Latin seems likely to have the same experience, for has there not been lately at Yale a strong outcry against the study of the language?

The question with the classics, as with Hebrew, is not whether there is any interest attaching to the study of them. Certainly they have a disciplinary value, while to one fond of linguistic inquiries nothing could be more fascinating than the detailed and microscopic study of lexical and grammatical questions. It is not a question of the absolute, but of the relative, value of these studies. Can we afford to give so large a part of the limited time available for life's preparation to obtaining a knowledge, so slight and imperfect at the best, of languages no longer living, when almost the only results our studies would be aimed at are already offered to us at the hands of those whose knowledge and authority we could never rival? The oft-told story of the student on Commencement day asking someone to explain to him what his sheepskin said is scarcely an exaggeration of the meager knowledge most students acquire of the languages to which so much precious time has been given. We put the same question with regard to the Hebrew studies of the seminary. How many ministers in any denomination, even if they remember the Hebrew alphabet and could work out an easy passage in Genesis, are capable of criticizing, say, the Revised Version and expressing an independent judgment of its correctness? The scholars can do this, but we cannot: why not let the scholars do it for us? Is our present seminary Hebrew worth while?

Work and Workers

REVEREND ERASTUS BLAKESLEE of Brookline, Mass., died July 12, 1908, in his seventieth year. An account of his services in the interest of Bible study will appear in a later number of the *Biblical World*.

REVEREND DR. GEORGE E. HORR, professor of church history in Newton Theological Institution and formerly editor of the *Watchman*, has been appointed president of that institution to succeed Dr. N. E. Wood.

CANON T. K. CHEYNE has retired from the Oriel professorship of the interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford. It is announced that he is to be succeeded by Rev. G. A. Cooke, formerly fellow of Magdalen College, and Hebrew Lecturer at St. John's and Wadham Colleges. Mr. Cooke was a pupil of Professor Driver, and his Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions (1903) is among the standard works on Semitic epigraphy.

REVEREND DR. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, since 1886, principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, and in 1899–1900 Barrows Lecturer in India for the University of Chicago, has retired from the principalship of the college, which he has held for more than twenty years. Dr. Fairbairn has worked largely in the philosophy of religion, and his book, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* (1902), occupies an important place in the literature of that subject.

REVEREND A. H. CHARTERIS, professor of biblical criticism and biblical antiquities in the University of Edinburgh from 1868–1898, and professor emeritus since that date, died suddenly April 24. Professor Charteris contributed to New Testament study a most important source-book in his Canonicity: A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament (Edinburgh, 1880), and in 1888 published The Christian Scripture. He was born in 1835 and for forty years has held a prominent place among Scottish scholars.

Professor Robert Francis Harper, acting head of the department of Semitic languages in The University of Chicago, and editor of *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, sailed from New York on July 25, on his way to London, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. Professor Harper goes to the directorship of the American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine, on a year's leave of absence from the University. He will be followed by Dr. D. D. Luckenbill, the assistant director, and a group of advanced students, who will sail from New York September 5.

Bernard P. Grenfell, fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and editor, with Arthur S. Hunt, of the Oxyrhynchus, Amherst, Hibeh, Tebtunis, Fayûm, Cairo, and other papyri, has been appointed professor of papyrology in the University of Oxford. Mr. Hunt was at the same time appointed a university lecturer in the same subject. These accomplished and indefatigable scholars have in no small degree created the department of study which they are now called upon to represent, having discovered, deciphered, interpreted, and published, in the past twelve years, Greek texts which now fill fifteen large volumes.

REVEREND ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, professor of church history in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School at Cambridge, Mass., died early in July, at the age of sixty-seven. Professor Allen was a recognized leader of liberal theological thought, a teacher of strength and skill, and a writer of many important books. He had lately become a co-operating editor of The American Journal of Theology. Among his works are The Continuity of Christian Thought (1884), The Lije of Jonathan Edwards (1889), Religious Progress (1893), Christian Institutions (International Theological Library, 1897), The Lije and Letters of Phillips Brooks (1900), Freedom in the Church (1904). He had been professor in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School since 1867.

Professor Ernest D. Burton, head of the New Testament department of the University of Chicago, and editor-in-chief of the Biblical World, sailed from New York for Plymouth, July 18, as the University of Chicago's commissioner to investigate the educational conditions of the Far East. Professor Burton is accompanied by his secretary, Dr. Horace G. Reed, and will visit London, Geneva, Rome, Constantinople, Beirut, Jerusalem, and Cairo. In October he will proceed to India, in November to Ceylon, and in December to China, where more than four months will be spent. In China Professor Burton will be joined by Professor Thomas C. Chamberlin, head of the department of geology in the University of Chicago, and joint commissioner in the investigation, who will be accompanied by his secretary, Dr. Rollin T. Chamberlin, of the United States Bureau of Commerce and Labor.

On July 3 occurred the death of Dr. Eberhard Schrader, professor of Semitic languages in the University of Berlin. Professor Schrader was in his seventy-third year, but had been incapacitated by paralysis for several years prior to his death. He was best known to English-speaking students of the Bible by his book on *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, which in its German form has reached a third edition.

He was the founder of the science of Assyriology in Germany, having been the teacher of Friedrich Delitzsch, H. Winckler, Jensen, and the most of the older scholars. His more important books are: Die Höllenjahrt der Istar. Ein altbabylonisches Epos. Nebst Proben assyrischen Lyrik. Text, Uebersetzung, Commentar und Glossar, (1874); Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung: ein Beitrag zur monumentalen Geographie, Geschichte und Chronologie der Assyrer (1878); Die Sargonsstele des Berliner Museums (1882); Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament (2d ed., 1883); Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Uebersetzung. In Verbindung mit Dr. L. Abel und anderen, herausgegeben von Dr. Eberhard Schrader. (Six volumes.)

OTTO PFLEIDERER, for more than thirty years professor of systematic theology in the University of Berlin, died July 20, 1908, in his sixty-ninth year. Professor Pfleiderer was well known as a theologian of Hegelian views, and his works have circulated widely in English as well as German. His geniality and simplicity of disposition, and his cordial hospitality are gratefully remembered by many American students. Professor Pfleiderer had been a member of the Berlin theological faculty since 1875, and was dean of it in 1904. His principal writings are: Das Wesen der Religion (1860), Moral und Religion (1872), Das Urchristentum (1887, 1902), Paulinismus (1890), Entwickelung der Protestantischen Theologie seit Kant (1891), Ritschl'sche Theologie, kritisch beleuchtet (1891), Geschichte der Religions-Philosophie von Spinoza bis auf der Gegenwart (1893), Religions-Philosophie auf geschichtlichen Grunde (1896), Grundriss der christlichen Glauben- und Sittenlehre (1898). Among his English publications are The Influence of the Apostle Paul on Christianity (1885), The Philosophy of Religion (1886-8), The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant (1890), Paulinism (1891), Philosophy and Development of Religion (1894), Evolution and Theology (1900), The Early Christian Conception of Christ (1905), Primitive Christianity (1906), Christian Origins (1906). In the past generation few men have wrought sa importantly as Professor Pfleiderer in developing a scientific theology.

Book Reviews

Interpretation of the Bible: A Short History. By George Holley Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908. Pp. 309. \$1.25 net.

This is an excellent "short history;" its defects are due chiefly to its brevity. Within so brief a compass the author could not do justice to many phases of this important and interesting subject.

Canon Farrar says in his *History of Interpretation* (1886): "There does not exist in any language a complete History of Exegesis," and he remarks that it would furnish worthy occupation for a lifetime of study. Farrar's work is the best in English on this subject, and yet Professor Gilbert truly says that Farrar "practically omits one of the most fundamental sections in the history of interpretation, viz., the interpretation of the Old Testament in the New." It might be added that Farrar also breaks down when he comes to the era of modern scientific interpretation; indeed, he wrote too soon to take that adequately into account.

The book begins with the classical Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament. Then is discussed Philo of Alexandria as an interpreter of the Old Testament—one who wielded a powerful influence over the leaders of the Christian church in the early centuries.

The author is rightly impressed with the interpretation of the Old Testament by Jesus, whose method he justly calls "practical." He says that to this day Jesus' exegesis of the Old Testament has been almost entirely ignored. Jesus was guided not by critical knowledge and interest, but solely by his spiritual insight. "Of what in modern times is regarded as technical qualification for scientific exegesis, he had, of course, no more than had the generation to which he belonged. But the lack of critical knowledge was more than outweighed by his unique spiritual penetration, by his perfect comprehension of the scope of the entire Old Testament, and by his unerring judgment of moral values." Thus his interpretation was saved from the errors of the rabbis.

With all the writers of the New Testament the historical sense was practically wanting; in fact, the science of interpretation is as modern as the sciences of astronomy and chemistry. Yet their exegesis was not that of their Jewish contemporaries. They had become charged with a practical

religious spirit. The significant fact (here) is not that there are occasional traces of rabbinic exegesis, but that these traces are so rare. The exegesis of Jesus and the New Testament writers stands in remarkable contrast with that of Philo, the Palestinian rabbis, and the early Church Fathers.

In Clement and Origen the Alexandrian type reached its climax, but it persisted till the Reformation and, as we all know, even later. Nevertheless as a text-critic Origen was a pioneer, and is thus connected with the Syrian school. A faulty view of inspiration, the idea that the more obscure the Scriptures are, the more wonderful are their secrets, the identification of the heart of the Old Testament with the supposed predictive element, the finding of types of Christ, and the arbitrary spiritualizing and allegorizing, are among the prominent defects of this period. There did appear a saner type. Theodore of Mopsuestia and John Chrysostom took a stand against allegorical interpretation, and recognized the necessity of determining the original sense of Scripture. Nevertheless, like their predecessors, contemporaries, and successors, they were in bondage to dogmatic presupposition. During the Middle Ages there prevailed the interpretation represented by the Catenae, that of scholasticism, and that of mysticism, which the author does not very clearly distinguish. Through all these centuries methods have been employed that darkened the true meaning of Scripture. The author says that "the doctrine of infallibility has injured the Bible more than all the assaults of its professed enemies."

The chapter on the Reformers begins with those writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries whose use of the Bible foreshadowed the coming advance, such as John Wiclif and Thomas à Kempis. Humanism introduced grammars and lexicons, and the reformers popularized the Bible through numerous translations. They rejected allegorical interpretation and insisted on the literal sense, but they were not consistent: Scripture was subjected to traditional doctrine.

The author rightly gives no great consideration to the dogmatic interpretation of the seventeenth century. But rationalism and pietism are overlooked: Reimarus and Spener are not mentioned. The last chapter is on the scientific era of biblical interpretation. The foothills had been reached at the close of the eighteenth century.

The book lacks the fulness and ornateness of language, the wealth and variety of illustration, the suggestiveness and brilliancy of Farrar's; but as a brief, clear, strong and careful presentation it occupies a field all its own and will serve a useful purpose.

JOHN C. GRANBERY

The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect. Their History, Theology, and Literature, by James Alan Montgomery, Ph.D. [The Bohlen Lectures for 1906]. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1907. Pp. xix+358. Price \$2.

The researches which underly this work were undertaken first in the preparation of a thesis for the degree of Ph.D., and were afterward extended to prepare the Bohlen lectures. Professor Montgomery has produced a good piece of work, and has created a book which will reveal the Samaritans to many readers for the first time, as a people with a pathetically dramatic history, a theology well worthy of study, and a literature of some importance to the theologian and historian. The author has made both scholars and laymen his debtors by bringing the scattered fragments of knowledge concerning the Samaritans into the compass of a single volume. The book opens with an account of the rediscovery of the Samaritans by European scholars in modern times. A chapter is then given to Samaria and Shechem, and one to the modern Samaritans. In chap, iv the historical part of the book begins with a discussion of the origin of the Samaritan sect. Here Professor Montgomery shows that the narrative in II Kings 17:24 ff. does not entirely explain the origin of the Samaritans. After the destruction of the northern kingdom Hezekiah and Josiah had claimed jurisdiction over its territory, and there is evidence that down to the reform of Ezra and Nehemiah the people of the North had close religious relations with Jerusalem. It was the introduction of the rigid priestly law, and Nehemiah's intolerant effort to rule out of fellowship all whose ancestry had a foreign taint, which finally created the split between Jews and Samaritans. The Samaritans thus were from the first a Jewish sect. Chaps. v-vii sketch the history of the Samaritans, under the Hellenic Empire, under the Romans, and under Islam. Under the first, many Samaritans as well as Iews migrated to Egypt. Apart from this little of their history is known till 128 B. C., when John Hyrcanus conquered them. From this time till 53 B. C. the Samaritans were dominated by the Jews. Pompey emancipated them from Judaean domination, and from Herod the Great to Vespasian they were recognized as a valuable buffer between the Jews and the outer world. They were comparatively well treated; and this was their happiest period. After the unsuccessful revolt of the Jews under Hadrian, the Samaritans shared in the rigorous treatment which that monarch meted out to the Jews, and were forbidden circumcision. Antoninus removed this restriction, but under Commodus, and his successors, their history was once more a checkered one, in consequence of persecutions, revolutions, and the espousal on the part of the Samaritans of the losing side in imperial

rivalries. Under the Christian emperors the Samaritans were persecuted as unbelievers, and under Islam they have been at various times subjected to even severer persecution. The wonder is that their constancy has preserved them as a people to the present time, for no chapter in religious annals, unless it be that of the Jews, contains a more heart-rending tale.

Chap. viii, on the geographical distribution of the Samaritans, shows that commerce led the Samaritans to settle in nearly all parts of Palestine and Phoenicia, and that in the fourth century they were divided into twelve districts by the high priests, and a priest placed over each district.

Chaps, ix to xi are devoted to the references to the Samaritans in apocryphal literature, the New Testament, Josephus and the Talmud. research has gone into these chapters, and they are very interesting. literature clearly shows how akin to the Jews the Samaritans were recognized to be in the early times, how gradually bitterness and estrangement between them and the Jews grew until finally the breach was complete. Despised by the Jews, they were, nevertheless, for a long time regarded as a kind of intermediate buffer between that people and the Gentiles, and in earlier strata of the Talmud were accorded legal rights denied to Gentiles. The Talmudic booklet, Masseket Kutim, is translated in chap. xi to afford the reader a sample of the Talmudic treatment of the Samaritans, this booklet forming the most important section on the subject. It is impossible in a condensed statement to afford any idea of the information about the Samaritans which these chapters afford. Scanty as it is on the whole, it appears abundant in comparison with the utter lack of knowledge possessed by the non-specialist.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the discussion of Samaritan theology (chap. xii). Samaritan theology comprised seven points, though only five of these are included in their creed, or confession of faith. These points are belief in Yahweh, the one God; in the angels; in the creation; in Moses as the servant of God; in the holy law; in Mount Gerizim as the house of God; and in the day of vengeance and recompense. Belief in angels and the creation are, however, not made a part of their formal confession.

The Samaritans emphasize the unity and aloneness of God with a Mohammedan-like earnestness. Opposition to Christianity has led them into this. Sometimes in Marka, their greatest theologian, God's glory seems almost to be hypostatized, but this is a passing phase of thought. Originally the Samaritans, like the Sadducees, made little of the angels, but through the influence of Judaism, of which their theology and ritual is in many parts a reflex, the belief in angels was accepted, though it never

developed into a belief in angelic hierarchies as in Judaism and Christianity. Samaritans hold that God has revealed himself in two great acts, creation and the giving of the law. In the view of most of them he created or even is Tohu-wa-Bohu and matter has no independent existence apart from him. As the Samaritans accepted only the Pentateuch as their Bible, Moses became to them the one mediator between God and man: he is even more than Mohammed to the Mohammedan, being almost what Christis to the Christian. Similarly they gave to the law a heightened value; it is to them God's one expression of his will; it came forth from his essence. The dogma that Gerizim is the mount of God, was, in a way, forced upon them by their split with Judaism, but it has led them to distort the geography of the patriarchal narratives, and to locate the sites of Eden and of all patriarchal experiences in their immediate neighborhood. Their belief in a day of vengeance and recompense is a development of the old Israelitish idea of the day of Yahweh, which appears as early as Amos. Under the stimulus of Judaism it was developed as the centuries went by, since a need was felt for a complete theodicy. In this development belief in a Messiah was introduced, though it never played a part so important as it did in Judaism.

The concluding chapters (xiii and xiv) deal with the Samaritan sects, and with the language and literature of the Samaritans. Four "additional notes" follow an exhaustive bibliography and copious indices. Evidences of scholarly research is presented in numerous footnotes.

Professor Montgomery writes in a clear, though somewhat inflexible style, and his book should be welcomed by laymen and student alike, to whom it affords easy access to a mass of information about a much neglected sect, whose history is nevertheless interesting and pathetic.

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

The Ancestry of Our English Bible. An account of the Bible Versions, Texts and Manuscripts. By Ira Maurice Price, Ph.D. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1907. Pp. xxiv+330. \$1.50.

One often desires a work which shall present in reasonable compass the main facts about the versions and translations of the Bible. Dr. Price's book supplies this need and answers questions concerning numerous points of interest. The list of illustrations contains many adjuncts for the understanding of the text. The diagrams are of special value. Several chapters are worthy of particular note: (1) that on the Samaritan Bible in which the origin of Samaritan worship and the reason for the limitation of its canon

to the Pentateuch are explained; (2) the two on the Greek Bibles; most people are familiar in a general way with the facts about the Septuagint, but the rival Greek versions are almost entirely unknown; (3) the one on the Apocrypha, though brief, is very welcome, for few average readers of of the Bible are aware of the kind of literature that is preserved in the Apocrypha, some of which, however, is very interesting and valuable for the understanding of biblical problems; (4) the whole of Part II on the New Testament covers a field on which Bible students in our Sunday schools often ask questions but find no easily available material for answers, and (5) in Part III the history of the English versions is told in a manner very instructive and interesting.

While written in a popular style and for general readers, Professor Price has given in this book a summary of information together with results of a thoroughly scientific character, and the work is a compendium both for instructors and students.

A. S. CARRIER

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The Book of Exodus. With Introduction and Notes. By A. H. McNeile. [Westminster Commentaries.] London: Methuen and Co., 1908. Pp. clvi+247. 105 6d.

The English-speaking public has waited long for a satisfactory commentary on the Book of Exodus. It is a pleasure to welcome exactly the kind of a commentary that was needed. It is a companion volume to Professor Driver's commentary on Genesis, which belongs to the The author has contributed a long introduction, into same series. which has gone much material that would otherwise have burdened the explanatory notes. It is arranged in eight sections, viz., (1) The Component Parts of the Book of Exodus; (2) Analysis; (3) The Laws in Exodus; (4) The Priesthood; (5) The Tabernacle; (6) The Geography of Exodus; (7) The Historical Value of the Book of Exodus; (8) The Religious Value of the Book of Exodus. The relatively small amount of space devoted to the treatment of the sources, 37 out of 134 pages, evidences good judgment. Much has been written elsewhere upon the analysis of the Hexateuch and the characteristics of the sources, and it would have been a waste of space to have repeated it here. This selfrestraint has rendered it possible to give adequate treatment to important questions of archaeology, history, theology, and religion. The discussion of the structure of the Tabernacle, for example, is an excellent piece of work, and the statement of the considerations against the historicity of the Tabernacle narratives is the best presentation in English of this phase of the question. The much-vexed question of the route of the Exodus is freshly treated, and Sinai is located where most modern scholars, Petrie excepted, have placed it, viz., in the northern part of the Sinai peninsula, not far from Kadesh-Barnea.

Other conclusions of interest are the acceptance of Moses as a historical character, but the refusal to assign to him the promulgation of the Decalogue, which is rather to be placed between 750 and 650 B. C. Notwithstanding this, Moses is accredited with having implanted the germ of the moral law in Israel through the impress made upon manners and customs by his forceful personality. The Levites were not a tribe, but a guild or profession, the clergy of their age. Moses and Aaron were great leaders and founders of the Levitical order; some families traced their origin to one and some to the other; hence in later ages arose the tradition that they were brothers. The widespread view that Yahweh was the god of the Kenites, and was adopted by the Israelites after their arrival at Kadesh, is rightly questioned, and the more probable opinion adopted that Yahweh was the god of Moses' own clan as well as of the Kenites. Thus Moses was not introducing Israel to a new God.

In a period of the history which presents so many problems and so few data upon which to base conclusions it is impossible that any scholar's reconstruction of the history should command general assent. This attempt will meet with the approval of the more cautious wing of modern Old Testament scholarship. The author has successfully resisted the temptation to originate startling hypotheses. His work challenges the serious consideration of every sober-minded student. The explanatory notes in the commentary proper are concise and informing. The sources of the narrative are indicated by the requisite symbols in the margin opposite the translation. Fortunately the text of the Revised Version forms the basis of the commentary. Though thoroughly scientific in spirit and method, the whole work is well within the reach of every intelligent minister and Bible student.

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

KENT, C. F. The Founders and Rulers of United Israel, from the death of Moses to the division of the Hebrew Kingdom. [The Historical Bible, Vol. II]. New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. xii+238.

Vol. II of The Historical Bible follows close upon the heels of Vol. I. Characterized by the same aim, method and arrangement as its predecessor, it ought to put the student in intelligent possession of the main facts and forces operative in the preprophetic period of Israel's history. This series is evidently the best suited of all of Professor Kent's books to the needs of young people and older people unfamiliar with the methods and results of modern Bible study.

NICOLARDOT, F. La composition du livre d'Habacuc. Paris: Fischbacher, 1908. Pp. 08.

An attempt to analyze the book of Habakkuk into its constituent elements and to discover the date of the origin of the various parts. The oldest parts (1:5-10, 14-17) come from the seventh century B. C.; the prediction of the overthrow of the Chaldaeans (2:5-17) belongs to the middle of the sixth century; somewhere between the fifth and the third centuries must be placed 1:2-4, 2:4, with some other related fragments; while the closing psalm (chap. 3) originated in the fourth century. This is carrying the division hypothesis further than any preceding student of Habakkuk has gone.

ISOPESCUL, OCTAVIAN. Der Prophet Malachias. Einleitung, Uebersetzung und Auslegung. Czernowitz: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1908. Pp. v+163.

A critical commentary on Malachi characterized by full knowledge of everything that has been written upon this book and by very full citation of the readings of the versions, especially those lesser known, like the Coptic and the Armenian. The author's exegetical liberty is curtailed by the necessity of conformity to the teachings of the Greek church of which he is a priest. Interpreters of Malachi will find this commentary a rich source of information.

ARTICLES

SMITH, H. P. Moses and Monotheism. American Journal of Theology, July, 1908, pp. 444-54.

A searching criticism of the view recently set forth by Bruno Baentsch and Paul Volz that Moses is to be credited with having taught pure monotheism.

Margoliouth, D. S. Recent Exposition of Isaiah, chap. liii. *The Expositor*, July, 1908, pp. 59-68.

A sane critique of the recent interpretations by Thirtle, Sellin, and Gressmann.

LAGRANGE, M. J. Les nouveaux papyrus d'Eléphantine. Revue biblique internationale, July, 1908, pp. 325–49.

A translation, with linguistic, exegetical and historical notes, of the three papyri translated and published by Sachau, which deal with the temple of Yahu at Elephantine.

HONTHEIM, J. Zu den neuesten jüdisch-aramäischen Papyri aus Elefantine. Biblische Zeitschrift, Vol. VI, pp. 245-61.

Another translation of the famous papyri, together with a general survey of their contents and significance.

Noordtzy, A. Damaskus en hare arameesche Koningen. *Theologische Studiën*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 177–209.

A rapid sketch in Dutch of the history of the kingdom of Damascus as it may be gathered from the Old Testament, the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, and the few surviving Aramaic inscriptions.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

Kögel, Julius. Christus der Herr. Erläuterungen zu Philipper 2:5-11. [Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, XII, 2.] Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. Pp. 76. M. 1.50.

A careful exegetical study of this important Christological passage, in the light of the apostle's immediate motive of arousing the Philippians to self-forgetful devotion to the service of one another.

NICOLARDOT, FIRMIN. Les Procédés de Rédaction des Trois Premiers Evangélistes. Paris: Fischbacher, 1908. Pp. xv+316.

This study is a contribution to the synoptic problem, and seeks to determine in detail the methods of treatment which the authors of the Synoptic Gospels applied to their sources. The writer is entirely controlled by the two-documents hypothesis, upon which he builds as firmly established. He betrays no acquaintance with Burton's *Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem* (Chicago, 1904), which might have importantly modified his positions. His work has a certain value, however, and is most distinctive in its third part, where the attempt is made to determine how Mark dealt with his materials.

NICOL, THOMAS. The Four Gospels in the Earliest Church History. (Baird Lecture for 1907). Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1908. Pp. xxii+326.

Professor Nicol of the University of Aberdeen makes a comprehensive and learned examination of the witness of the writers of the early centuries to the gospels. He has read very widely, and while not altogether free from conservative bias this study promises to be useful. The writer holds that John the elder was John the Apostle, the author of the Fourth Gospel, and at many points seems to resent any criticism of time-honored positions. There are some inaccuracies, e. g., the apology of Aristides is placed under Hadrian, 125 A. D. (p. 143) instead of under Antoninus, ca. 138–47. A. D., as the work, now that it has been discovered, demands.

Lewis, F. G. The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel; its Extent, Meaning, and Value. (Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament, Second Series, Vol. I, Part VII.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 64. 50 cents.

In view of a critical re-examination of Irenaeus's testimony to the Fourth Gospel it is urged that his testimony truly represents the best Asian tradition of the beginning of the second century, and that this tradition knew of no John but the son of Zebedee as the author of the Johannine chapters from the life of Jesus. That John the Apostle wrote such chapters is thus highly probable, and these detached discourses were, a generation later, combined by some disciple of his into our Fourth Gospel. Not all John's sermons bore directly upon the life of Christ, however, and one such was independently preserved as John's first epistle. This study is an interesting presentation of facts too little heeded in most recent Johannine criticism.

CONLEY, J. W. The Young Christian and The Early Church. (Christian Culture Courses.) Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. Pp. 170. 50 cents net.

This sketch of the history and literature of the apostolic age, primarily designed for Baptist young people, would have lost none of its value had the results of modern historical study been taken account of in its preparation. The book would serve better

as a guide to the Acts and epistles if the New Testament material relating to each chapter were briefly indicated. The references to the literature might well have been fuller, more detailed, and up to date. In short, the young people require a more modern treatment of the apostolic age than Dr. Conley offers them.

Preuschen, Erwin. Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Erste Lieferung: a bis ἀργυροκόπος. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908, cols. 160. M. 1.80.

Preuschen has conceived the admirable design of producing a lexicon not only of the New Testament books but of the other earliest Christian writings as well. His *Handwörterbuch* is to cover the Apostolic Fathers and such fragments of the uncanonical gospels as are extant, in addition to the books of the New Testament. Limitations of space have led him to give little attention to the contribution of the papyri to New Testament lexicography, but his dictionary nevertheless promises to prove a valuable contribution to the working materials of New Testament study. It is to be completed within a year.

NORTON, F. O. A Lexicographical and Historical Study of ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ from the Earliest Times to the End of the Classical Period. (Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament, Second Series, Vol. I, Part VI.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 72. 75 cents.

Dr. Norton's lexical study covers exhaustively the field of Greek literature down to the year 300 B. C., and establishes the general sense of $\delta \iota a \theta \eta \kappa \eta$ as arrangement, agreement, compact, including will or testament. His historical study takes up the Greek will in its characteristic features. Many another New Testament word demands such a painstaking and comprehensive lexical study.

ARTICLES

FOSTER, F. H. The New Testament Miracles: An Investigation of Their Function. American Journal of Theology, July, 1908. Pp. 469-91.

A critical inquiry from the dogmatic point of view, into the supposed necessity of miracles to attest divine revelation. The writer holds that the gospels show that the miracles actually did not so attest the revelation of Jesus to his hearers, and since such attestation is thus not a fact it cannot be a necessity.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

Drake, A. E. Discoveries in Hebrew, Gaelic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Basque, and other Caucasic Languages, showing Fundamental Kinship of the Aryan Tongues and of Basque with the Semitic Tongues. Denver: The Herrick Book and Stationery Co., 1907. Pp. 402.

This book evinces an enormous amount of labor on the part of its author. It is of interest to comparative philologists only, and its real value can be determined only by them. Suffice it to say here that the author's conclusion is that Hebrew is the mother-tongue from which both Aryan and Semitic languages have been derived. This conclusion is in direct conflict with the findings of every scientific student of comparative philology.

WERNLE, PAUL. Einführung in das theologische Studium. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. 524. M. 8.60.

This new work by one of the ablest advance scholars in the field of historical religion is the most important of his several valuable publications. Certainly we have all been waiting for someone to put together again the several parts of the field of religion which have been separately studied and reconstructed. The aim of the author is: (1) to present the rise and development of religion, from its earlier and cruder forms to its later and higher forms, showing the place of the "Israelitish-Jewish

religion" and of "the Christian religion" in their true historical perspective and relations. The Old Testament receives 50 pages, the New Testament receives 74 pages, church history and the history of doctrine to the present day receive 82 pages; (2) to outline the study of systematic theology, which he does lucidly and interestingly in 162 pages, under the two heads of "the philosophy of religion and Christian dogmatics" and "philosophical and Christian ethics;" (3) to present the main problems and principles of practical theology (74 pages). We should have this extraordinary work in English translation. It opens up the field of modern theological study in a fresh, strong way.

LADD, GEORGE TRUMBULL. In Korea with Marquis Ito. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908. Pp. 477.

This is an interesting and instructive narrative of personal experiences in Korea from the pen of the eminent Yale professor, supplemented by a critical and historical inquiry. That Professor Ladd enjoyed the personal friendship of Marquis Ito, and went to Korea convinced of the honesty of the intentions of the Japanese toward Korea, qualifies, though it does not destroy, the value of the author's judgment.

Dennis, James S. The New Horoscope of Missions. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1908. Pp. 248. \$1.

These lectures delivered before the McCormick Theological Seminary by Dr. Dennis, at this time perhaps the best informed of missionaries in the world, present an inspiring survey of the present situation in reference to the progress of Christianity in lands hitherto non-Christian. These lectures would be most profitable reading for theological students, ministers, and laymen everywhere.

OLMSTEAD, A. T. Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722-705 B. C. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1908. Pp. vi+192. \$1.25.

A methodical study of the reign of an important Assyrian king. The nature of the sources necessarily made the work largely an account of the military campaigns of Sargon. Still, sufficient attention has been given to geographical and chronological questions. The chapters on "Babylonia and Syria" and "The Culture Life" are especially important for biblical students. This book is a good example of the systematic work that must be done on every period of Babylonian-Assyrian history before an adequate history of those nations can be written.

ARTICLES

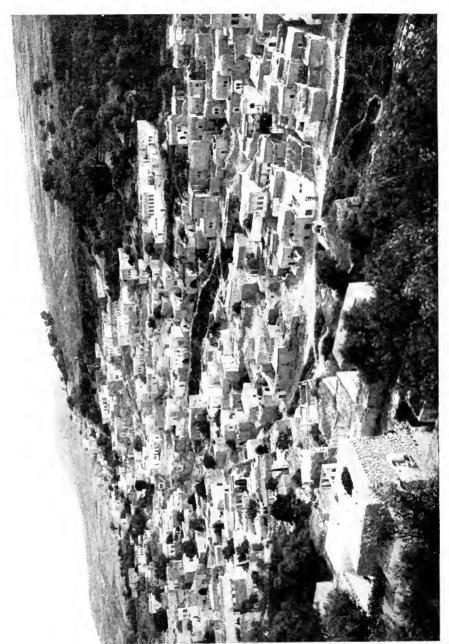
KLEIN, G. Die Gebete in der Didache. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, IX, 2 (1908), pp. 132-46.

Klein finds in the prayers in the Didache close resemblance to the Jewish Kiddush, with which the Jews on Friday evening introduced the Sabbath celebration, and which the primitive Jewish Christians, who still kept the Sabbath, replaced with these more Christian but very similar forms.

CHAPMAN, JOHN. On the Date of the Clementines. II. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, IX, 2 (1908), pp. 147-59.

Chapman holds the Clementine romance lying behind the Homilies and Recognitions to have been written by a Palestinian in the fourth century, and not earlier than the last years of Constantine (ca.330-35 A. D.), and in the time of Julian to have been expanded and popularized in the forms in which we now know it. In Simon and his followers the Syrian Neo-Platonist Iamblicus and his school are caricatured.





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Editorial

ARE MIRACLES ESSENTIAL TO RELIGIOUS FAITH?

THE POPULAR CONCEPTION OF A MIRACLE

No one can read current discussions on the subject of miracles without being aware, in the first place, that a very vital religious interest is embodied in the question, and in the second place, that the issue involved in the affirmation or the denial of miracles is seldom clearly apprehended. The current confusion is largely due to the incorporation in our popular definition of miracle of two very different elements, each of which should be considered by itself before entering upon the larger question. The first implicit assumption is that miracles are essential to religious faith. By this it is meant that the belief that God directly exercises his power in the world of nature is indispensable to the vital belief in divine providence. The second element is one which comes from mediaeval scholastic analysis. According to this analysis a miracle is defined as a violation of the laws of nature. Putting the two elements together, we have the popular conception that a miracle is the result of the direct activity of God, which is contrary to the ordinary course of nature.

Now these two elements should not be confused. Suppose a man declares that he does not believe that any event ever occurred contrary to the laws of nature. It is entirely illegitimate to jump to the conclusion that he therefore does not believe that God ever acted directly in the world. He may profoundly believe in the divine activity in the world, while at the same time believing that even in the most extraordinary events God employs laws of nature to bring about the results. On the other hand a man might believe that the

laws of nature are often broken and yet affirm that this is simply because blind chaos is at work. The unfortunate scholastic combination of these two very dissimilar elements is responsible for much misunderstanding and prejudice on the subject. Every attempt to deal with each element on its own merits is a distinct gain.

WERE THE MIRACLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AIDS TO FAITH

Such an attempt has been made by Professor Frank Hugh Foster in an article on "The New Testament Miracles," published in the July number of the American Journal of Theology. He does not confuse the issue by asking whether we can explain these by known laws of nature. He proposes, instead, to ask whether they actually promoted religious faith. He undertakes to investigate the facts so far as they can be ascertained from the gospel records and to ask the question whether, apart from any theory of the evangelists as to the effects of miracles, we have actual evidence that religious faith was promoted by the wonderful deeds of Jesus. The evangelists, it is admitted, declare that after miracles "many believed." The question is whether the actual events which they narrate bear out this theory. If we take all the facts into account, is it true, as is often supposed, that the miracles of Jesus were an essential factor in the awakening and strengthening of religious faith?

Professor Foster's investigation deserves careful study. While he is not entirely free from the temptation to interpret the New Testament so as to support a given thesis, while in his criticism of the resurrection narratives it may be fairly questioned whether he has not overemphasized the first perplexity of the disciples and underestimated the immense importance of their later matured conviction that Jesus was risen, the outcome of his investigation is to show that miracles instead of satisfactorily attesting the truth of Jesus' message and mission, merely whetted the appetite for other physical marvels, so that Jesus, in order to get a hearing for his message, was compelled to refuse requests for "signs." The miracles were actual hindrances to his real work, so that he was obliged to flee from the notoriety caused by them. Even the resurrection had the baneful effect of reinforcing in the minds of the disciples the

false conception of the messianic kingdom, so that Christianity has been weighted with an eschatology which is no essential part of our religion. In the light of these conclusions, Professor Foster declares that the defense of miracles on the ground that they attest the truth of a message is untenable. "We have shown that such attestation was not a necessity by showing that it was not a fact."

This discussion has clearly challenged the assumption which underlies many defenses of miracles. Miracles, it is affirmed, are indispensable to attest revelation and to awaken faith in that revela-Therefore miracles must have happened. Clearly this current argument is a non sequitur. Suppose a Roman Catholic were to apply it to the alleged miracles in the history of the church. Protestant would rightly reply that the only way in which to decide whether the reported marvels are facts or not is to apply the canons of historical criticism. Shall we, then, insist upon a critical examination of non-biblical accounts of miracles, and refuse this in the case of biblical miracles? Shall we argue that Catholic "faith" is no basis at all for determining whether to accept miraculous accounts while Protestant "faith" is adequate? Shall we doubt the story about the stigmata of St. Francis because it is supported only by Catholic faith; but decide in favor of the turning of water into wine at Cana because of its utility to Protestant "faith?" To detach this a priori religious assumption from a real investigation into the historicity of reported miracles is a genuine service.

MIRACLE IN SCIENCE AND IN RELIGION

So much may be said for the first element in the discussion. When we come to the second element, namely, the belief that a miracle is a contravention of the laws of nature, it should be recognized that here both religion and science can today come closer together because of a truer conception of what is meant by nature. The old rigid system of "laws" of nature is being broken up by modern science. There are many events which scientists recognize to be inexplicable by any known law. But this inability to furnish a scientific explanation is no reason for denying the existence of an event if it is adequately attested. Thus the old a priori argument against miracles is gone. But, on the other hand, the exceptional

marvel does not necessarily carry with it evidence of divine intervention. Chaos would occasion unexpected and inexplicable events just as really as would divine power. Or (and this is the usual position taken by scientists), there are processes in nature as yet little understood which introduce incalculable elements into our fore-These processes are not arbitrary or lawless; we simply do not yet understand them. The universe is growing more marvelous and not less so as science grows. In fact, we are abandoning the artificial mediaeval distinction between the natural and the supernatural because nature itself is full of marvels. It would seem that just as the word "miracle" in the mediaeval theological sense is not to be found in the Bible, so it seems destined to sink out of modern thought; and with it will go those inconsequential a priori arguments which are now too current among both dogmatic naturalists and dogmatic supernaturalists. What the religious spirit desires to know is whether any events in this universe sufficiently proclaim the power of God. If this question can be answered in the affirmative, we do not care whether the event be called miracle or nature. Exactly as in certain cases perfectly "natural" events in the Bible are called "signs," so religious faith will judge events purely on the basis of their religious significance and not by asking whether or not they violate the laws of nature.

In short, if anyone feels impelled to enter upon the defense or the denial of miracle he should first make it clear both to himself and to his hearers exactly what he means by miracle. If the emphasis be placed by theologians where the Bible always places it—on the religious significance of an event—and if scientists recognize, as many of them do, that there is abundant room for mystery and marvel in a universe of law, there seems to be no reason why the familiar disputes in which one side is arguing one question and the other side a very different question, should be continued with the unfortunate result of prejudicing theologians against scientists and scientists against theologians. It is for critical science to determine whether an alleged event in the past did or did not occur as reported. It is for religious appreciation to state whether or not an event is a "sign" of divine activity. To attempt to decide a question of historicity by religious faith is as futile as to attempt to ascertain

religious significance by canons of historical criticism. A truer understanding both of the biblical conception of a "sign," and of the modern scientific attitude toward the world, would prevent many unfortunate and un-Christian controversies.

PSYCHOLOGY AND REGENERATION

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ELEMENT IN REGENERATION

The familiar testimony of the convert, "Those things which before I loved, now I hate, and those which before I hated, now I love" is constantly regarded as the normal Christian experience. To be sure, every Christian worker knows that the large majority of church members have had no experience which can truthfully be expressed in such language, while the great body of children and young people in the Sunday school cannot possibly give such testimony. And more and more it is coming to be recognized that the sudden transformation of temper and attitude is the exceptional rather than the typical religious experience. Yet the doctrine of regeneration has been formulated upon the basis of the exceptional experience and arbitrarily fitted to the normal and typical. The discussion of the doctrine has been generally on the basis of theology and scripture, but in the July number of the American Journal of Theology, Professor George A. Coe considers the question: "What does Modern Psychology permit us to believe in respect to Regeneration?" He makes a rigid distinction between the phases of the doctrine which are matters of theological speculation and the observable facts of consciousness, which are susceptible of psychological investigation. This distinction is fundamental. One may have theories as to the character of God and his relations to men, upon the truth or falsity of which psychology cannot possibly pass; but experiences are states of consciousness and as such are subjects of psychological study. When one claims to have an experience of being in "a state of grace," or of having become regenerate, or an experience of Christ or of the Holy Spirit or of some doctrine. these are psychological processes which can be analyzed and investigated.

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL STRUGGLE COMMON ALIKE TO THE REGENERATE AND THE UNREGENERATE

Professor Coe points out that if the commonly supposed distinction between the regenerate and the unregenerate is real, it must be susceptible of proof. But the great majority of Christians have to attain moral victory by the "study-and-struggle" process, while many who are not regarded as regenerate, and do not so regard themselves, are not strangers to the same endeavor. Let it be granted that Christians by all the great sanctions and motives of their faith attain on the whole a far higher level. Still the mental and moral processes in the one case are not so different from those in the other as to warrant any such distinction as that between moral health and depravity.

CHRISTIAN CHARACTER A GROWTH, NOT A GIFT

In the same way it is shown that regeneration cannot be an infusion of a new life which is discontinuous with the old life. As a matter of fact, a wide study of cases of conversion reveals their entire psychological naturalness, while in the case of the large majority of persons whose religious education has been continuous, the process can only be regarded as a gradual maturing. All the experiences of the Christian depend on definite, recognizable, antecedent conditions. It would be pitiful indeed if it were not so, for how would one know how the religious experience could be attained? Professor Coe utters a very much needed warning when he shows how many earnest persons have been vainly seeking a new life which should somehow be given to them, instead of realizing the simple conditions of all moral victory and peace.

THE VALUE OF EXPERIENCE AS AUTHENTICATION OF DOGMA

But the most important part of this article is the discussion of the use of the religious experience for the authentication of theological doctrines. Dr. Coe sees the essentially healthy character of this current endeavor. It means that for the authority of history is substituted the authority of a living Christian experience. But of course the authority must be employed with great care if it is to establish dogma. When it is asserted that universal Christian experience establishes immediately the truth of certain doctrines to

the soul, the psychologist asks that very careful data be secured before any such specific "universal" experience be affirmed. As a matter of fact, there is no such general experience of regeneration that it can of itself authenticate the deity of Christ, the fact of his resurrection, the vicarious nature of the atonement. The psychologist recognizes, of course, that "the name of Jesus stands for a morally constructive power of the first rank." But the power of Jesus is that of the historic character known to us through the scriptures, through Christian history and institutions, through the whole spiritual influence of Jesus; and apart from these there is no such thing as an experience of Jesus. To assert it would be to go into the realm of Spiritism, which, to be sure, psychology does not absolutely forbid, but regarding which it must be extremely doubtful.

The real religious experience of conscious unity with God and constant striving after the moral ideal of Jesus, modern psychology more and more enables us to understand. And the earnest student, who finds God not in the unnatural, but in the natural and orderly, is glad of this scientific aid in recognizing the conditions by which such precious experience may be enjoyed.

UPPER GALILEE

DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN Jerusalem, Syria

The lofty mountain region known as "Upper Galilee" is not easy to describe in a terse manner. It appears to the casual observer a confused mass of tumbled mountains, to which not even the map can give an orderly view. The sharp line of the southern mountain rise has already been described; from the Jebal Kancan at the southeast corner this range is continued almost due north and runs as a mountain wall of steep declivity along the whole western edge of the Jordan valley, reaching its most impressive heights at the north where Jebal Hunîn (2,951 feet) and Nebi Audeidah (2,814 feet) tower precipitously above the plain.

Almost in the center of this range is the plateau and town of Kades—the famous Kadesh Naphthali—a little north of which is the curious shut-in basin of Mês. Along the length of this chain runs an important and ancient highroad from Safed to the Merj Ayun.

The central point of Upper Galilee is Jebal Jermak (3,934 feet), the highest point in Palestine; it is the culminating point on a ridge which runs from Jebalat el Arûs and through the Jermak summit to the Jebal Adâther (3,300 feet). This ridge may be called the Jermak range. To the east and northeast of this range is the great central plateau to which belong the volcanic plateaus of el Jish and Alma, as well as the more westerly fertile plains of Merōn, el Jish, and Yarûn.

In this central region of elevation, the lowest plains of which are higher than the top of Tabor, four main water courses rise and run to the four points of the compass. On the east side of Jebal Jermak, and between that point and the Safed mountains, rises the deep gorge of Wady el Tawahîn which runs southward to Gennesaret. From the northeast slopes near el Jish rises the Wady Hindaj (known in its higher reaches as Wady Farah and Wady Auba) which, after

making a semicircle to the north, runs out into the Ghor as an extraordinarily steep and precipitous gorge, and finally empties its waters into the Huleh. From the northwest and west slopes of Jermak arise the rootlets of the equally deep Wady el Kurn which runs due westward to the Mediterranean. The Wady Selukieh takes its origin a little north of the Jermak and after pursuing a course almost due north, joins the Kasimeyeh some twenty-five miles above its mouth.



SAFED-THE VILLAGE IN THE FOREGROUND IS BERIAH

These valleys are the most important in the land; they all have, over much of their courses, deep and precipitous sides and in parts perennial streams. They all rise close together, all indeed but the last from the slopes of the Jebal Jermak itself. By them "Upper Galilee" is divided into four quarters. Of these dividing lines the most important is that made across the land from east to west by the combined Wady Hindaj and Wady el Kurn.

From the summit of the Jermak the greater part of Galilee lies spread out as on a raised map. Eastward rises the white chalky hill of Safed with the town itself—the largest in Galilee—clustered around its lofty castle hill, to the southwest part of the range. Villages may be seen scattered around some of its numerous springs. Akbara^T with its towering precipice to the south, Ed Dahareyeh just below Safed itself, and Beriah and Ain ez Zeitûn—each with watered gardens—to the north. On the eastern slopes of Jermak is Merōn. Between it and Safed lie five miles of stony barren hills, once within



THE VILLAGE OF EL JISH-VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

memory of living man covered with thick brushwood. To the northeast the grey volcanic plateau Merj el Jish, with its water-filled crater (the birket el Jish), catches the eye.

Around the edge of the plateau are several villages. To the west of this lies el Jish, crowning a white chalky hill, with a level of fertile gardens and vineyards to the south. Somewhat nearer is the little squalid village of Sifsâf, almost hidden in its grove of figs and olives.

¹ The Achabari of Josephus, Vita, §37; B. J., II, xx, 6.

Behind el Jish the lofty mountain village of Merûn er Râs stands out conspicuous. More directly north of us is Scasca which, though crowning a hill-top, appears from here to lie in the plain at our feet. Farther off is Kefr Bercin, on the waterparting between north and south. Still beyond lies Yarûn. A little to the left (west) of Yarûn lies Rummaish, on the edge of its fertile plain. Distinctly visible is its large rain-fed birket, that is much in evidence in the spring.

To the northwest lie the two villages of ed Deir and el Kâsy, on twin hill-tops. Behind these, at a distance of about five miles, is the lofty hill of Belât. More directly westward is the flourishing little town of Teirshîha and its neighbor Malia, rising at the two extremities of a small plain largely given over to the cultivation of tobacco. This was part of the rich estate of the Teutonic knights, the astonishing ruins of whose once powerful castle Montfort (now Kul^cat el Kurein) crowns an almost inaccessible height in the Wady el Kurn. Between us and Teirshîha we can see the great terebinth which overshadows the sacred tomb of Nebi Sibelan.²

To the southwest is the high mountain Druze village of Beit Jinn, rising out of the maze of bush-crowned hill and valley which constitutes the district known today as el Jebal or the Mountain. whole district, but for the continuous and ruthless destruction wrought by the charcoal burners, should be a great forest, as it probably was in olden days; there are few ruins here. Beyond Beit Jinn and hidden from our view is the wide open valley of el Bukeica, one of the tributaries of the Wady el Kurn, in which is the village of el Bukeica, with its mixed Druze, Moslem, Christian, and Jewish population. The town lies in a veritable oasis of verdure, a product of its copious springs. One of its admiring inhabitants compared it not inaptly to a miniature Damascus in the style of its dwellings and its fresh, wellwatered gardens. Besides so much of Upper Galilee, the Jermak view includes the Bay of Akka, Carmel, the mountains of Samaria and all Lower Galilee, the Lake of Tiberias, the Jaulan, Hermon, and the Lebanon.

² There is a tiny village around the tomb; the place has been suggested as the site of the town of Zebulun, but there is no depth of débris here nor any ancient pottery. If Sibelan contains an echo of Zebulun, the ancient site must be under the adjoining—though lower lying—village of Hurfaish, which is certainly an old site.

The northwest portion of Galilee is a richly wooded district consisting of a vast entanglement of hills and valleys full of villages and still more of ruins. Inasmuch as by the widest estimate of the true limits of the Galilee of history most of this region must have belonged to Tyre, it needs no further description here. Its main roads, or rather paths, leading to Tyre are unusually good for Palestine. They wind along valleys frequently clothed from base to summit with brushwood.

The higher mountain plateaus are as a whole deficient in springs as compared with Lower Galilee. Even where springs are present, water is scanty, and many of the villages are entirely dependent on artificial rain-filled pools. The large Metâweleh village of Bint Umm Jebail, famous through the land for its great weekly market, has a pool so considerable that even in September I found boys bathing waist deep in the water. The large villages of Rumaish, Hunîn, Tersheîha, Suhmāta, 'Alma, and others are entirely dependent on such pools as these for their water for domestic uses and for their cattle. Safed has many springs in its neighborhood, some of them very good ones. El Jish and Merōn each have good fountains in valleys below them about half a mile away.

This lack of water is largely compensated for by the "dew clouds" which in all the late summer months fall at night so copiously over the land. Such "dew" occurs all over Palestine, but nowhere in such plenty as in the highlands of the north. It is most important to agriculture; without it the harvest may be long delayed and even may be partially lost, for the fellahîn maintain that they dare not gather the ripened grain when absolutely dry, as after the parched sirocco, because the grain will fall in the process of reaping. After a night of "dew" there is no such risk. Then for the grapes, the figs, and the olives, indeed for all the autumn crops, this heavy "dew" is essential.

This is the "dew" (tal) of the Bible, but it is really the product of clouds which are blown often from the north, from Hermon,³ and settle on the highlands after sunset. The gauzy cloud may be seen blown overhead as the evening closes in, and in the early morning the mist lies thick over the ground and fills all the deeper valleys.

^{[3} Cf. Ps. 133:3.

How heavy is this "dew" may be judged by the fact that when last September I traversed the central ridge of Galilee northward toward Hermon, it was inadvisable on any night to sit without a mackintosh outside the tent after sunset; and every morning the tent canvas was soaked with water, the moisture dropping audibly off the edges.

The products of this mountain region are many—wheat, barley, Egyptian maize, lentils, cucumbers, pumpkins, and melons. Olives are plentiful as far north as Kefr Ber'im, but north of that in the central plateau they are very scanty. There the people either purchase olive oil, or use oil which they produce themselves in considerable quantities from sesame (oilseed). Figs are cultivated everywhere. Mulberries, walnuts, apricots, pears, and other fruits flourish in favorable spots. Oranges, lemons, and citrons are grown in the deeper, warmer valleys around Safed. Vines flourish in this district, and many acres of vineyards are now yielding well in several of the Jewish colonies, especially at 'Ain ez Zeitûn and at Rosh Pinna (Jauneh) near Safed. Tobacco is grown extensively, especially in the north and west, but solely for local use; indeed the authorities of the "Tobacco Regie" so despise it that they shut their eyes to its cultivation.

The great natural fertility of Galilee as a whole as compared with Judea may be ascribed to:

- 1. Its comparatively excellent water supply. Where the springs are scanty the "dew" is very heavy.
 - 2. The gentler slope of the hills and the wider plains.
- 3. The deep rich soil in which is mixed, in many parts, the detritus of volcanic rock.
- 4. The fact that over much of the hills the native growth of brushwood has been left. In Judea, where every available foot of the soil had to be utilized, the native growth has in many places been entirely destroyed to allow of the hills being terraced for cultivation. But when the terraces fell from neglect, the earth gradually was washed down the hillside to the valley below. In Lower Galilee this has also occurred in many places. With careful terracing the possible area of cultivation might be vastly increased.

⁴ Who have a monopoly of tobacco and can if they wish forbid its cultivation or destroy what they do not need for their own use.

One last characteristic of modern Galilee remains to be mentioned briefly, namely, its remarkably mixed population. In Lower Galilee most of the inhabitants are either Moslems (i. e., orthodox Sunnites), Christians (either Greek orthodox or Greek Catholic), or Jews. But when we reach the confines of Upper Galilee many new elements appear. At Rameh, Beit Jinn, el Bukeica, and elsewhere, we come across Druzes. In Safed, besides Jews from all parts of the world and native Moslems, there are Kurds and Algerians. In the villages



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on the high thoroughfare to the north there is a new religion or race in every second village. At Rås el Ahmar, 'Alma, and Deishûn there are Algerians. In a separate village of 'Alma, on the same plain and within sight of its namesake, there is a large settlement of Circassians, a race which has also settled in other spots. In the extreme north, near Banias, there is one village of Nasairîyeh and another of Turkomans.

As a whole, in the northwest quarter the Christians are Maronites and the followers of Mohammed are Metâweleh, i. e., Shiites. Both

sects agree in fanatical intolerance of all others. Kefr Bercim, cAin Ibl, and Dibl are Maronite centers. One of the largest Metâweleh villages is Bint Umm Jebail, but this sect is in the majority all over the northern area and in the environs of Tyre it constitutes 70 per cent. of the population. They will not eat with any but the members of their own religion; they will destroy a food-vessel used by an unbeliever. In many respects they are very unlike their Moslem (Sunnite) neighbors; their women go unveiled and have none of the assumed modesty of the ordinary oriental women toward strangers. It is said that when one of their men has to go a long journey, and particularly on military service, he hands over his wife to a friend who takes her into his own household until the real husband's return, when the wife is handed back; but the friend retains any children she may have born to him during her temporary marriage to him.⁵

As a rule a village is either entirely of one sect or at most of two, and the several communities never intermarry. Though the basis of separation is religious differences, there is now—if not originally in all cases—a considerable physical difference that enables one who knows the people well, to recognize at once to which community any individual belongs. Taken as a whole, the people of Northern Palestine are physically finer than those of Southern Palestine. Their costumes also, which are very various and often extremely picturesque, are superior to those of the fellahîn of the south.

 $^{^5}$ This is similar to some of the customs mentioned in Robertson Smith's Kinship and Marriage in Arabia.

THE SAVING TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS

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The historical view of the Old Testament has vastly increased its value as a book of witness to the nature and end of religion and revelation. So long as it lay at the mercy of dogma, forbidden to speak its own tongue, it could but give back to the interpreter what he had first instructed it to say. But once seen historically, as we are beginning to see it, it becomes the book of mediation between the Savior and the universal religious need and consciousness of our race. It clears the road through history to Christ and prepares us to think with him, a more difficult work than thinking about him. Jesus was a man of one book. Nothing but the historical study of the Old Testament can inform us regarding the mould in which he cast his thought.

We have seen that the question, What is Revelation? is the hinge on which everything turns. Revelation is the vital breath of religion. And it is religion alone that can assure us regarding our kith and kin in the universe, free us from our most searching and disintegrating fears, and secure our hold on life. But without revelation, the unseen reality and power lie passive, waiting for human action and purpose. In that case religion at its best becomes identical with philosophy. The very name philosophy tells the story. It is the love of wisdom, the ennobling search for truth. But if we are to enter into enduring life, something more than the search for truth is necessary. infinite reality that embraces truth must be known as friendly and active. We must be enabled to say with the Book of Wisdom (1:6), the creative force and mind is a truth that loveth man. St. Paul puts it even more clearly when he describes the people who have been redeemed as "having come to know God or rather to be known of God" (Gal. 4:9). Revelation is religion's last word.

We have seen that revelation is not confined to the Scriptures. It is a universal process. All forms of final and satisfying experience

have a share in it. Whenever we touch to the quick a reality large enough to include both our knowledge and our ignorance, there is revelation. In every growth of science revelation comes to meet reason. Electricity discloses itself within light. Within electricity radium blooms forth. The mind of the reverent student is besieged and invaded by immeasurable reality. Again, in every deep experience of the beautiful, there is revelation. When we come into the presence of a supremely beautiful object like the Yellowstone Cañon, we may for a moment, if we are fresh from college, air our information regarding the modern theory of knowledge, the contribution our own mind and eye make to the beautiful. But only for a moment. Then we are caught up out of ourselves into the wonder and majesty of the universe.

Revelation is not a book. It cannot be a book. No book, however divine, can exhaust revelation. The office and function of a book or literature supremely divine is to attest the quality and the method of revelation, to bear trustworthy and convincing witness to the logic of the real life.

We have seen what the content of revelation in its higher forms must be. It is the holy personality, the creative unity of God. Revelation redeems reason. The redeemed mind is placed as Moses was, in a cleft of the rock (Exod. 33:22). Our ignorance of God is inseparable from our knowledge of him. We moderns have become familiar with agnosticism. Both the name and the thing have been created by the doctrine of infallibility. But the doctrine of infallibility is no part of the scriptural conception of revelation. It has been imposed upon it, does not grow out of it. In the scriptural conception, our immense ignorance of God is part and parcel of our saving knowledge concerning him. Systematic infallibleism necessarily creates dogmatic agnosticism. But wherever the living God discloses himself in the midst of mankind's deepest activities, there is reverent agnosticism found inside the joyous certainty of revelation.

The Old Testament has also taught us where to look for the mould that divine revelation makes use of. Our decisive question stands, What is the divine reality? Where shall we find it? and when we have found it, how shall we know that we know it? The answer of the Old Testament runs thus: The saving unity of God is revealed

within the law and hope of the Chosen Nation. The creative unity of God discloses itself as the ground and root of that faith in the moral order which is hidden within the nation's life and shines out through the crises of its experience.

The unit of thought and feeling for the men of the Old Testament is not the individual soul in the modern sense. That soul has a history. The elements that have gone into the history are the separation of the Christian church from the heathen state, the triumph of monasticism in the church, the growth of the doctrine of biblical and ecclesiastical infallibility, and the evolution of Protestant individualism. But we are not to forget that the Old Testament in its growth knows nothing whatever about infallibility and the entire body of ideas that travels in its train. The center of the Old Testament is the holiness and the creative unity of God viewed as the content of revelation; and the messianic ideal, that is to say, the hope and integrity of the chosen nation, is the mould wherein the content is cast.

All this is summed up by saying that the divine revelation unifies religion and ethics. The task of unifying those two forces, bringing them together and keeping them together, is the supreme task for those who walk in the ways of the Spirit. The history of religion shows that it is extremely easy to break connection between them. From two directions come the forces that separate them. On the external side we find ritual conformity substituted for moral values. Wallace, in his book on Russia, illustrates this point by the story of a pious Russian churchman who murdered a poor country butcher. There was never a twinge of conscience over the murder. But having eaten some of the butcher's meat and bethinking himself, all too late, that a law of the church forbade meat-eating on that day, he was filled with horror. On the internal side, the whole history of religious mysticism is in evidence. The soul within us, wearied by things temporal, hears that "music in the heart" whereof Pilgrim's Progress speaks, and the music "leaves us homesick till we follow it to heaven." We become absentees from the large moral issues of history.

The separation of religion and morality—that is the bane of religion. An entry in Gladstone's diary runs—"There is one proposition that the experience of life burns into my soul: it is this, that a man should beware of letting his religion spoil his morality." Every

religious controversy, every theological debate burns that self-same proposition into the souls of those who, with some measure of self-knowledge, take part in the strife. Courtesy, equity, mental rectitude —how easily are they pushed to the wall.

Now the glory of Hebrew prophetism is that it makes the being and will of God inseparable from the law of the nation. Religion and morality—morality taken in the largest personal and corporate sense—are unified. Be it remembered, as we read the following passages, that it takes our two words "righteousness" and "justice" to translate the one prophetic term for "righteousness."

Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? (Isa. 58:5, 6).

O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal; that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord. Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of lambs, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? (Micah 6:5-8).

The life of the nation is not to be separated from the life of the saint.

Our Lord was not only a man of one book. In the deepest sense he was a man of one idea. The messianic ideal, the hope of his nation, was the staple of all his thinking and the mould of all his thought. The greatness of the patrimony which he inherited is clearly seen when we compare him with Gautama, the founder of Buddhism. They are profoundly alike in that the reality of the inner life is all in all to them both, and in that both of them make gentleness the revelation of strength. But the difference between them is equally profound. Gautama had no national hope, no messianic ideal, to inherit. With him the reality of the mystic annihilated the reality of history. But Jesus, thanks to the messianic ideal, founded a religion which has a tremendous grip on history.

The immensity of our Lord's achievement in adding to his patrimony is clearly seen when we compare him with Mohammed, the founder of the other "world religion." Mohammed founded a military monotheism. He glorified the sword, making it a missionary instrument of the Divine unity. But Jesus, while making the messianic ideal the staple of his thinking, carried it out of politics. By the sheer power of character he broke its entangling alliance with force. "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's and unto God the things that be God's." "Put up thy sword into its sheath," was his word to Peter. "My kingdom is not of this world," was his word to Pilate.

Jesus, by the power of sinless goodness, put the messianic ideal beyond the reach of the fighting zealot, the Pharisaic apocalyptist and the Essenic monk. By his life, wherein the full power of the divine and the irresistible appeal of the human were perfectly blended, he made the "Kingdom of God," God's right of way in history, a human reality. We may apply to him Cicero's well-known words about Socrates: "He caused philosophy to descend out of heaven upon the earth and to enter the cities and homes of men." Even so, Jesus brought the supreme ideal out of the clouds. With conscious authority he could say (Luke 17:21): "The Kingdom of God is in your midst."

He did this by translating the supreme ideal into terms of elemental human fellowship. Samaritans, religious outcasts beyond the pale of Judaism; the social outcasts of Israel, the publican and the sinner—all came within the pale of his sympathy and service. Fellowship, fellowship rooted as deep as the Fatherhood of God—this was his answer to the final question, What means the Kingdom of God? Emerson said, Hitch your wagon to a star. A much harder task is to persuade the star to hitch itself to the wagon. But Jesus brought the divine into intimate and indissoluble relationship with the human.

Prophetic monotheism, as we have seen, is the highest form of mental and moral concentration. Jesus consummates monotheism. The Kingdom of God is realized in fellowship. The divine becomes inseparable from the human.

Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them (Matt. 18:20).

When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren. ve have done it unto me. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me (Matt. 25:31-45).

In the deep of fellowship and nowhere else may God be known as he is. Man's need of God and his need of his fellow-man are fused into a single glorifying want. The law of the higher life is laid down in the Beatitudes—"Blessed are the poor [the folk who are deeply conscious of the supreme human need, the need of perfect fellowship] for to them belongs the Kingdom of God." Clear self-knowledge is attainable only through devotion to this sovereign ideal. The noble saying of the Book of Proverbs, "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all his innermost parts," is carried on into the saying (Luke 21:19) "In steadfast loyalty to the Kingdom of God ye shall possess yourselves." The knowledge of God and the knowledge of man are one knowledge. Revelation and fellowship are inseparable.

It is in the interest of impassioned morality, the morality of perfect fellowship, that our Lord criticizes the Old Testament. The Jewish church had canonized the books constituting the Old Testament and thereby laid the solid foundations of the Christian's Bible. When the Old Testament canon had been substantially completed, the Jewish church proceeded to anticipate, to a considerable degree, the later ecclesiastical doctrine of scriptural infallibility. It is true that the Jewish doctrine was not clear or systematic. Yet its tendency was certain. The Holy Scriptures or, to be more exact, the core of Scripture constituted by the Books of Moses, was set up as a final revelation of the will of God. Whenever the text of this law or Torah came into conflict with later feeling or ideals, the Jewish Bible-scholars or exegetes got over the difficulty by means of exegetical devices similar to those long established in the Christian church. Even if they had to go as far as undoing the historical character and method of the divine revelation, they clung to the conception that the Torah was a final and complete and infallible book.

In our opening study we noted the company in which the prophetic idea of revelation travels. The mind and teaching of the Savior puts the logic of prophetism in the light of broad day. There is but one law for the higher life. It is the divine unity imparting coherence, spiritual value, and moralizing power to human consciousness. There is but one force that can save man, lift him to his true stature. It is the grace and power of the living God, making himself at home in the daily affairs of men, in business and in politics. There is but one task worthy of the life-long devotion of those who are being made in the divine image; it is the expression of the divine unity in terms of human unity and fellowship. Every person who is redeemed must needs be a prophet, because nothing but the full power and presence of the living God can make him competent for his task.

It is in the interest of this prophetic passion for morality informed by religion that the Savior criticizes the Jewish Torah. He does not imitate the ecclesiastical interpreter who, in the service of the idea of scriptural infallibility, by exegetical devices, steals a march on the plain meaning of the text. With complete authority (Matt. 7:28) he makes a direct attack on the moral finality of the Torah. In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:21-48), he turns the light of the Kingdom of God, the ideal of perfect fellowship, on the infallible Bible of the Jewish church and finds it wanting.

But Jewish ecclesiasticism did what ecclesiasticism in all ages is prone to do. Orthodoxy or right thinking about the mystery of the divine life within humanity is one of the world's ennobling and necessary ideals. Orthodoxy, however, is not an end. It is a means to an end. The end is splendid morality. Now morality cannot be splendid and compelling unless it have a soul of magnificence in it. Moral magnificence is born when the redeemed man joins together, in an inseparable whole, the corporate ideal of the Kingdom of God and the personal ideal of saintliness. Our Lord made morality once for all magnificent by realizing monotheism, by revealing the divine unity in terms of human fellowship. But Jewish orthodoxy tended to make monotheism a credal rather than a creative and vitalizing truth, turning the means into an end. Jesus, therefore, was criticizing the ecclesiasticism of all ages when he said (Matt. 23:23): "Ye tithe mint and anise and cummin and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy and faith."

Therefore, just as we noted the train of truths with which prophetic monotheism travels, so must we note carefully the train wherewith the doctrine of infallibility travels. Prophetism has ceased. Into its place has come an infallible book. To interpret it and apply it to life there has arisen a great corporation of teachers whose traditions are regarded as an indispensable mediator between the divine book and the minds of the laity. When living prophetism comes to life again in John the Baptist and the Savior, Jewish ecclesiasticism does what ecclesiasticism is always prone to do. It builds the sepulchers of the prophets (Matt. 23:29). The live prophet!—him it despises or condemns to death. And why not? The dead prophet is a store of credit for the ecclesiastic to capitalize. But the living prophet turns the fierce light of moral passion upon the ecclesiastic's grand air of finality. The infallibleistic churchman cannot keep house with him.

When once we go to the root of the doctrine of infallibility in all its forms, we see that it is necessarily accompanied by moral skepticism. By this we do not mean skepticism regarding the moral perfection of the individual. On the contrary, the doctrine of infallibility is, in the fullest sense, friendly to that passion for personal perfection which constitutes the saint. But on the high ground of prophetism there is no such thing as personal apart from social and corporate morality. Now our Lord completes the logic of prophetism when

he says, "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness and justice, for God shall feed them full." The beatific vision, as he reveals it, is not the beatific vision of the monk and the mystic, but "Blessed are they on whom single-minded devotion to the ideal of fellowship has bestowed purity of heart, for they shall see God." The doctrine of infallibility is irreconcilable with prophetism as the Hebrew prophets disclosed its laws and aims, and as Jesus embodied and fulfilled it. Invariably, to apply Gladstone's thought, it makes religion unhelpful if not injurious to a magnificent morality. And too often it covers up moral bankruptcy with religious enrichment.

We have defined religion as the consciousness of divine backing whereby man, assured of his kinship to the unseen powers, secures his footing and finds heart's ease. We have defined prophetic religion as that form of spiritual confidence which expresses itself in certitude concerning the moral quality and end of the nation's history. How, then, in order to complete our body of working definitions, shall we define Christianity? The essence of our religion may be expressed in the following propositions: (1) We cannot truly know the true God except in the deep of human fellowship. (2) We cannot sound the depths of fellowship unless God reveals himself to us. (3) The divine self-revelation, in process wheresoever men labor to high ends, is summed up and clarified in the Savior, Jesus Christ. (4) The supreme, the saving assent from which all the moral decisions of life take form and color, is the act of assent called faith—a sovereign belief in the Kingdom of God. (5) Through the power of the divine and human life in Christ, we believe mightily in the ideal and obligation of perfect fellowship. God helping us, we can believe in nothing else.

In the light of these definitions and propositions the Christian conception of saving truth must shape itself. Saving truth is manifold in form and degree. When, after a severe and long-continued stress, with nerves on edge and our working will severely strained, we find refuge and quietude in some lovely countryside, Nature saves us by taking us out of ourselves. Nature's unanxious beauty delivers us from our nerves and makes us whole. To a great nation, in a death-grapple with forces that threaten its being, a decisive victory brings home the saving truth of national integrity and dignity. Washington

at Valley Forge infused his own being and steadfastness into the American army and saved the revolutionary cause. Salvation is as varied as the fundamental needs of human nature.

But our ultimate need, our "glorifying want," is perfect fellowship with one another. Such fellowship is impossible apart from the clear knowledge of God. We are saved when the knowledge of the divine unity is revealed and published in our hearts with compelling appeal. We touch a power that infinitely transcends us, yet is irresistibly intimate with us. Our being is inspired and informed by the illimitable being of God. "All things are ours, and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's" (I Cor. 3:23). We are made certain and secure of our spiritual and moral perfection. This certitude, however, does not come to us in spiritual isolation. Cicero, speaking for the state and its law, said, One man is no man. That proposition is even more true on the highest level of religion. One man is no man. The single soul cannot be saved as a single soul. It is only when, through the power and grace of the God and Father of Jesus Christ. we devote and dedicate ourselves to the Savior's proposition, The Kingdom of God is at hand, that we can be truly saved.

Christ and the prophets together give us the principles we must apply to the problem of authority. Authority is the expression of certitude. For example, the authority of the public schools imposes the fire-drill on our children, because of the public conviction that it is necessary to their safety. Every traditional plan of scriptural and ecclesiastical authority must be subjected to this test. Is it necessary to human fellowship? Does it bring the Kingdom of God down out of the clouds? Does it make human unity a perfect and complete obligation? If it does not, we will cashier it.

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT X. ATONEMENT IN THE TEACHING OF PAUL (Continued)

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Pursuing still the plan of interpreting the less clear passages by those which are more clear, we come to the obscure but unquestionably important statement of the apostle Paul in Gal. 3:13, 14:

Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, becoming a curse for us. For it is written, cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree—that upon the Gentiles might come the blessing of Abraham; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

That the apostle employs the term "law" in this sentence in its legalistic sense, i. e., as denoting not the total revelation of the divine will, or the legislative portion of the Old Testament, but the strictly legalistic element of the Old Testament revelation, is a fact of fundamental importance for the discovery of his thought in this passage. That such is in fact the meaning of the word here even a study of the word as used repeatedly in this chapter of the epistle will make reasonably clear. Observe, for example, the antithesis in which the apostle sets the dictum of the law in vs. 10 and the Scripture doctrine of faith in vs. 11. Both are derived from the Old Testament, yet they directly contradict one another, and the apostle clearly regards the latter as that which is really revelatory of God's attitude toward men. Observe also the apostle's declaration in vs. 17, that the law cannot set aside the principle of faith that underlies the promise made long before to Abraham.² Law is in this sense, according to Paul's thought, an element of the divine revelation, but neither the whole of that revelation, nor its controlling element. just here that Paul differed from those pharisaically inclined thinkers whom he was opposing. They made law, in its strictly legalistic

¹ Cf. Biblical World, September, 1908, pp. 186 f.

² For fuller discussion of the usage of the word "law" in Paul and a detailed interpretation of Gal. 3:13, 14, see Burton, "Redemption from the Curse of the Law," *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1907, pp. 624-47.

sense, the whole or the determinative element of the divine revelation. To Paul it was a subordinate element of law, and the exaltation of it to the supreme place was an utter misrepresentation of God and a perversion of religion.

When it is clearly recognized in what sense Paul is using this term "law," then it follows that by "the curse of the law" he does not mean a curse which God veritably pronounces on every one "who continues not in all the things that are written in the book of the law to do them," for as vss. 10, 11 clearly show, he holds that the Old Testament itself affirms quite a different basis as that of the divine judgment. This curse is rather that which is pronounced by the purely legal element of the Old Testament when isolated and set off by itself. Such a declaration is not false. It has its value as disclosing to men where they stand when judged purely on the basis of their conduct, and is especially calculated to deter Paul's readers from adopting the legalistic view of his opponents, since on such a basis there could be for them only a curse for their non-conformity to all the statutes of the law. But they greatly err, the apostle clearly indicates, who think that such a curse of law truly represents God's attitude to men. He desires mercy and not sacrifice. Faith wins his approval, and for him who has faith there is no divine curse even though he has not fulfilled all the law's detailed requirements.

From this it follows further that redemption from the curse of the law is not forgiveness of sins, but deliverance of the mind from a misconception of God's attitude toward men. From the curse that God pronounces, only in the sense that in the law-element of his revelation he discloses to us our shortcomings, pointing out that judged on the basis of our own conduct we are indeed under a curse, from this curse which never expressed God's thought in full, which taken alone utterly misrepresents the attitude of God to men, men are redeemed when they learn at length, what the prophets perpetually affirmed, that God is not a bookkeeper, recording in his ledger the daily deeds of men and issuing his curse on those who fail in any requirement of the law, but a righteous God, loving righteousness in men, and faith by which men come into fellowship with him.

Precisely how the apostle conceived that this redemption from a

degrading and enslaving conception of God, Iesus wrought for us in that he died on the cross, he has not here clearly indicated, and it may not be possible for us with certainty to affirm. Yet there are two possible answers to this question which are suggested by the apostle's language elsewhere, and which are sufficient to account for the language of the present passage without the necessity of resorting to explanations which have no basis in his expressed thought. It is beyond question that the apostle looked upon the death of Jesus as a disclosure and demonstration of God's love for men.³ This thought alone may be the basis of his expression here. That God loves men, even sinful men, his enemies, as the death of Christ shows that he does love them, is itself a refutation of the conception that he is a mere legalistic judge of men, ignoring their striving, their aspiration, and their faith, and pronouncing on them a curse because they have failed to fulfil all the requirements of the law. But it is probable that this thought of the divine love, if it underlay the language of the apostle at this point, was supplemented in his mind by another, for it is beyond question that the apostle believed that Jesus himself was without sin (II Cor. 5:21). If then even he endured the cross. the climax of suffering and the extreme symbol of divine displeasure, it cannot be that it is the law of the divine government that each is dealt with on principles of legalistic justice. Look, you who think that God awards to each that joy or that pain which his punctilious fulfilment of statutes or his failure to fulfil them deserves; look at the cross of Christ, where he, the righteous, who knew no sin, died on the tree of cursing, for us, who had fallen far short of meeting the law's demands; and learn how widely you have missed the truth concerning God's real attitude toward men. There is certainly no more need here than in Rom. 3:24-26 to suppose that Paul thinks of Christ as veritably the object of divine displeasure, or as enduring a penalty transferred from sinful men to himself. That he suffers because of sin and on behalf of men has its sufficient explanation in his relation to God and to men, in consequence of which the pain of their sin falls on him. And that he who is the revealer and revelation of God does thus suffer itself disproves the whole legalistic conception of God.

³ See Rom. 5:9, 10; 8:31-38, and cf. Biblical World, September, 1908, pp. 189 ff.

Thus it appears that if we are guided by the apostle's own usage of words, and if we interpret his less clear assertions by those that are more clear, we find him thinking of the death of Jesus as vicarious in the sense that it is endured for the sake of men, as revelatory in that it discloses to men God's true attitude toward them, and as redemptive through the fact that it is thus revelatory. It is by the knowledge of God that men are redeemed; only of course such redemption becomes actual only as men accept and act upon the revelation of God thus given in Christ.

From this passage it is natural to turn to one in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians:

For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we judge this; that one died for all, therefore all died; and he died for all that they who live might no longer live to themselves but to him that for them died and rose. . . . All things are from God that reconciled us to himself through Christ, and gave to us the ministry of reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not reckoning to them their transgressions; and committed to us the word of reconciliation. On behalf of Christ therefore we are ambassadors, as if God were entreating you through us. We entreat you on behalf of Christ, be ye reconciled to God. Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf that we might become righteousness of God in him (II Cor. 5:14, 15, 18-21).

Concerning this remarkable and remarkably interesting passage it must suffice to notice only those things which are strictly pertinent to our subject. Logically, if not also grammatically, the word "this" in vs. 14 is defined not by the immediately succeeding clause, but by all that follows to the end of vs. 15. In the death of Jesus, therefore, the apostle sees the supreme expression of the love of Christ, and in it all, for whom he thus suffered, are potentially and ought to be actually participative. The death that he died is ours, both in that it was for us, and in that it belongs to us to enter into it and share it with him, living no longer for the fulfilment of our own purposes and ends but for his, who for us died and rose again. Thus to the oft expressed thought that the death of Jesus is vicarious, on behalf of men, being an expression of his love for men, this passage adds that it is also representative, and of universal significance. It sets forth to men the ideal of their own life and appeals to them, moved by its manifestation of his love, to reproduce it in themselves. Similarly, in Rom. 6:10, 11, the apostle declares that as Jesus in his death died to sin, utterly and finally repudiating it, so we ought to count ourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus. Both passages look at the death of Jesus as an act of profound moral significance, an act of righteousness on the part of Christ, mirroring for men their true attitude toward sin and righteousness. By its revelation of ideal human life the death of Jesus becomes redemptive.

But the Corinthian passage also represents Jesus as the revelation of God, and as in that revelation working atonement. God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. The addition of the words, "not imputing their transgressions unto them," added to lexicographical evidence not necessary to be cited here, shows that it is the laying aside of divine wrath rather than the overcoming of human hostility that the apostle has specially in mind when he speaks of the reconciliation of the world to God. This reconciliation is accomplished through the revelation of God in Christ; whether by a demonstration of his righteous hostility to sin (cf. Rom. 3:25 f.) or of his love (Rom. 5:8 f.) or through both, the passage does not clearly indicate. The most noteworthy fact is that it is through revelation that atonement is effected.

But this passage further presents Jesus—and we can scarcely be wrong in thinking that the apostle has specially in mind the death of Jesus-in yet a third aspect. "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf." It requires no argument to show that the expression "made to be sin" involves metonymy. To make a person to be sin, and that one become righteousness, are both alike impossible and unthinkable in a literal sense of the words. But it is almost as clear that the metonymy is double; that is, that the words do not mean that he made him sinful, caused him to sin. Such an idea is so far removed alike from Paul's idea of Jesus and of God as to be an impossible interpretation of his language. He can only mean that God made him to experience the effect of sin; not his own, for he had none, but that of others. The thought is clearly akin with that of Gal. 3:3. There is the same antithetical form of expression and the same kind of metonymy. That men might in him enter into the divine righteousness (whether in the strictly ethical sense, or in the forensic sense, is not needful to decide at this point) he entered into the experience of human sin, not indeed by sinning, but by

suffering even unto death, because of that sin. How such experience of sin enabled men to enter into the divine righteousness, the sentence itself leaves unsaid; but the most obvious suggestion of the context is that it was through the revelation of God that was thus made.

Two passages from the epistle to the Philippians, worthy in themselves of extended study, must be briefly considered:

And being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself, becoming obedient (to God) unto death, and that a death on the cross (Phil. 2:7, 8).

That I may know him and the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings, becoming conformed to his death, if so be I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead (Phil. 3:10).

These passages have in common the thought, intimated also in the earlier letters, that in his death Jesus is a pattern for his followers. For the first occurs in that remarkable statement concerning the self-abnegation of Christ, which is introduced by the words, "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus." And the second is part of the expression of the apostle's fervent longing after the achievement of that for which he had forsaken all and turned to Christ. The former passage affirms more explicitly than any previous one that Jesus in his death was obediently fulfilling the will of God, and goes on to add that for this God highly exalted him. It yields decisive disproof, if any were needed, that the apostle conceived of Jesus as being in his death in any sense the veritable object of divine wrath. The second passage joining together the power of Christ's resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings as both alike to be experienced by the Christian and as alike conditions precedent to his own participation in the resurrection, confirm what Rom. 4:25 and 5:10 not obscurely suggest, that the final achievement of divine approval is attained not through any sacrifice of Christ as a fact external to the redeemed, or by faith as an enacted condition precedent to the ascription to the believer of an achieved merit of Christ, or by both of these combined, but by the dynamic of fellowship with Christ in that moral experience of which his death was the culmination. In that he died he died once for all to sin. In that he liveth he liveth unto God. This experience in all its essential moral elements must be repeated in him who is to attain unto atonement, i. e., reconciliation with God, and the sequel of it, resurrection

from the dead. That men might through him learn to know God and repeat in themselves this experience, for this Jesus, for love of men and on their behalf, was obedient even unto death, even that of the cross.

It is scarcely necessary to proceed further in the interpretation of what we have called the earlier Pauline epistles. Such passages as I Thess. 1:10; 4:14; Gal. 2:20; Rom. 4:25; 6:4 ff.; 8:3, etc., though raising many questions of detail, do but repeat, for the most part in less explicit form, the conceptions found in those which we have already examined.

No doubt the apostle often expresses his thought in language shaped by the current legalistic ideas or by his own formerly held, but now for the most part abandoned, legalistic conceptions. Yet when that language is carefully examined it yields a conception of the work of Christ in the reconciliation of God with men, which is ethical rather than legalistic. The fundamental significance of the death of Jesus, as Paul conceives of it, is in the revelation which it effects. It reveals the love of God for men and the righteousness of God, especially in its aspect of hostility to sin. This revelation of God. which makes manifest his essentially ethical character and attitude toward men, emancipates men from false ideas of God and provides a basis on which they may be freely forgiven by God. Yet this is only on condition of faith—and that too not arbitrarily, or as if faith were a quantitative complement of an expiation for sin effected through the death of Jesus, but on the ethical ground that the judgments of God are according to truth and God can approve as righteous only those who are fundamentally righteous. Approaching it from another point of view the death of Jesus reveals the ideal of human It is itself a moral act wherein is disclosed Jesus' own attitude to sin and the attitude which it belongs to all men to take. He who by faith in him accepts his principle of life enters into fellowship with him who died and rose again, dying with him to sin and rising with him to newness of life. They are reconciled to God and obtain divine approval who, accepting the revelation of God which begun in ages past reached its culmination in Jesus Christ, commit themselves in faith to him and become partakers of the life that was, and is, in him.

The letters to the Colossians and Ephesians⁴ affirm the preexistence and pre-incarnate activity of the Christ and his function in creation and pre-Christian revelation with a clearness and emphasis not found in the earlier letters, and attach to his redemptive work a cosmic significance hardly expressed at all in them. But these differences affect but slightly their doctrine of atonement. Nor do the pastoral epistles, whatever their authorship, depart in any important way from the teaching of the unquestionably Pauline letters on this subject. In the interest of brevity, therefore, we may summarize the teaching of all these letters in one series of statements, indicating by the references which of the several elements are expressed in the several letters.

The Gentiles were before the coming of Christ, and, apart from their acceptance of Christ, remain alienated from God by evil works, hostile to him and objects of his wrath because of their sin. The Jews also were by nature children of wrath even as the rest (Col. 1:2; 2:3; 3:6; Eph. 2:3, 12, 13; I Tim. 1:13-16).

Yet men were at the same time, even in their sin, the objects of God's love. He was rich in mercy and loved us with a great love. The salvation of men is the work of divine grace; it is he that delivered us out of the power of darkness (Col. 1:3; 2:2, 3; Eph. 1:7; 2:4, 8; Tit. 3:4 ff.).

Jesus, himself the object of divine love, is also himself full of love for men. He is the Son of God's love, and the revelation of the Father, loving men with a love that passes knowledge (Col. 1:13, 15, 19; Eph. 2:4; 3:19).

The death of Jesus was an act of love on his part which was at the same time well-pleasing unto God (Eph. 5:2; 6:25; cf. I Tim.

4 Were it possible to discriminate with certainty between the Pauline and the later non-Pauline elements in those letters and the pastoral epistles, the non-Pauline would of course call for separate treatment. But in view of the difficulty of doing this, the wise course seems to be that which we have chosen, viz., treating first the quite certainly Pauline literature (II Thessalonians being for convenience grouped with the certainly Pauline or ignored) and then those which are open to doubt and in any case later. I cannot myself feel that the doubts respecting Colossians are justified. Ephesians is less certain, but this also seems to me more likely to be Paul's than not. The pastoral epistles seem pretty certainly compounded of Pauline and non-Pauline elements.

⁵ On this passage which is one of the few in which Paul uses sacrificial language, cf. T. K. Abbott, in the *International Critical Commentary*.

2:5, 6; Tit. 2:14). By this death the middle wall of partition between Tew and Gentile has been broken down. The bond written in ordinances has been blotted out and the believer in Christ is no longer subject to judgment in meat or drink or feast days, or Sabbath days. They who were once afar off are made nigh in the blood of Christ, he having abolished in his flesh the law of commandment. Through the cross both Tew and Gentile are reconciled to God (Col. 2:14-16; Eph. 1:13-22). But the purpose of Jesus' self-surrender to death is also stated in more personal and likewise in more distinctly ethical terms. He gave himself a ransom for all to redeem them from iniquity and to secure for them forgiveness of sins (Col. 1:21 f.; 2:13; Eph. 1:7; I Tim. 2:5, 6;6 Tit. 2:14). All this is in essential agreement with the doctrine of the earlier epistles, that Jesus is in his blood propitiatory through faith, that in him there is redemption, that justified through his death we are saved through his life, and that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to them that believe. Only there is now a strong emphasis upon the last-named thought and consequently on the inter-racial significance of Jesus' death as abolishing the partition between Jew and Gentile, both now having their access to God in the same way. It is important to observe that this result is achieved and the Gentiles come into possession of all the privileges of the Jews, not by their coming under the law, but by its abolition. Faith remains for all the sole condition of access to God, because Christ, in his death, blotted out the bond written in ordinances, nailing it, as the apostle expresses it, to the cross. The sufferings of the Christ are complemented by those of the followers who fill up that which is lacking. The implication is that his suffering and theirs are of like significance.

Acceptance with God is achieved not by works of law (which has been abolished), but through faith and the dwelling of Christ in the heart. In him we have our redemption from iniquity, and the forgiveness of our sins. Christ in us is the hope of glory (Col. 1:23, 27; 2:7; Eph. 1:13; 2:8; 3:12; I Tim. 2:5, 6; Tit. 2:14).

Finally, the death of Jesus not only has relation to the Jews and Gentiles; it is of cosmic significance. Through it it is God's purpose

⁶ Cf. Mark 10:45, and Biblical World, June, 1908, pp. 422 f.

to reconcile to him all things in heaven and earth (Col. 1:20; 2:15; Eph. 1:10).

Except therefore in emphasis, and a not unimportant extension of horizon, the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians and the pastoral epistles, by whomsoever written, reflect a conception of the significance of Jesus' death and of the basis on which sinners may be reconciled to God which is essentially Pauline. In Jesus God is so revealed to men that the ordinances of the law are done away, and men, whether Jews or Gentiles, may enter into peace with God through faith in Christ, who dwelling in them is the hope of glory. Thus does the Father, because of the love wherewith he loved us, deliver us out of the power of darkness and translate us into the Kingdom of the Son of his love.

PROFESSOR HARNACK ON TWO WORDS OF JESUS

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It is a source of great satisfaction for students of the New Testament that the great Berlin academician, Professor Harnack, is now giving his attention to apostolic literature, the writings of the New Testament. Three very important contributions toward a standard introduction to the study of the New Testament writings have, thus far, appeared, viz.: Luke, the Physician, Author of the Third Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles; Sayings and Speeches of Jesus, the Second Source of Matthew and Luke; and, The Acts of the Apostles. 1 In addition to these contributions appearing in book form and thus easily accessible to every student of the New Testament, Harnack publishes, from time to time, shorter articles, preferably in the *Pro*ceedings of the Berlin Academy, whose history in three portly volumes the famous church historian published some years ago² and of which he has, for a long time, been a leading member. Such articles, as a rule, are apt to escape the notice of many readers of theological journals, and yet they are of the greatest importance, manifesting on every page the great learning and deep insight of the author. his "Zwei Worte Jesu" published in the Proceedings for 1907, pp. 042-57,3 he takes up Matt. 6:13=Luke 11:4, and Luke 16:16= Matt. 11:12, 13.

- 1. The sixth petition of the Lord's Prayer reads in our Bibles, "And bring [lead] us not into temptation." The usual interpretation of this Greek rendering of an Aramaic (Hebrew) original has very early given rise to objections and doubts. James 1:13 sounds almost like a fervent protest against a view current even in New Testament
- ¹ Lukas der Arzt, der Verjasser des dritten Evangeliums und der Apostelgeschichte (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906); Sprüche und Reden Jesu, die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas, 1907; Die Apostelgeschichte, Untersuchungen, 1908.
- ² Geschichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Berlin, 1900.
- 3 Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1907, Nos. li, lii, liii. Berlin: Reimer, 1907.

times. It was felt as a phrase unworthy of God's fatherly love and the joyful message of the kingdom of heaven brought by Jesus, by the authors of the earliest Latin translations of the New Testament, by Cyprian, Tertullian, and others—quoted in detail by Harnack. belief that God, the Father, should lead us into temptation has been a stumbling-block in the way of many other writers since the day of Origen. Now, the so-called seventh petition of the Lord's Prayer. found in Matthew's account, but omitted by Luke, is but the positive repetition of the negative form of the sixth. Following upon the fifth petition, we expect to hear in the sixth, not of temptation, but of punishment, of affliction. "Forgive us our debts [transgressions] and bring not affliction upon us" (on account of our transgressions). This gives a good and easily intelligible meaning. Professor Harnack calls attention to the fact that the only scholar who has come near the true meaning, was the great Edwin Hatch who almost twenty years ago in his Essays in Biblical Greek, pp. 71 ff., had shown that the Greek $\pi \epsilon \iota \rho a \sigma \mu \dot{o} s$ in the Septuagint has in a number of instances simply the meaning of suffering, affliction, distress, and, especially, persecution; the idea of trying, proving of man by God, being wholly foreign to it. To be sure, inasmuch as suffering worketh as trial (afflictio temptativa), every suffering may be called πειρασμός. passages, in Deuteronomy, πειρασμός means also afflictio punitiva.

In the New Testament, πειρασμός means "suffering" in Luke 8:13b, as compared with Mark 4:17. Thus, also, in Heb. 11:37 "they were tempted" is a mistranslation for "they were subjected to afflictions." See also Acts 20:19; I Pet. 1:6, where "misfortunes, persecutions" is the proper meaning. In Rev. 3:10 it occurs as "the great persecution;" and "severe suffering" is meant in II Pet. 2:9; Luke 22:38 (cf. Isa. 53:5).

Considering these passages in their connections the $\pi o \nu \eta \rho \delta \nu$ of the seventh petition and the prayer for forgiveness of our transgressions in the fifth, it is more than probable that the sixth petition is to be rendered: ne inducas nos in afflictionem; the afflictio being punitiva, rather than temptativa; for it is within God's province to bring over us the afflictio punitiva, and it fits in best with the fifth petition. The original meaning of the passage, as spoken by our Lord, was soon lost sight of, owing to the fact that the Greeks did not know the Hebrew

original of the word as it occurred in the Septuagint which to be sure comprises both meanings, mentioned above. And, thus, the sixth petition teaches us to pray, that God may not bring upon us severe afflictions, which might eventually lead us into temptation.

2. Luke 16:16: "The law and the prophets [were] until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached, and every man entereth violently into it." This saying of Jesus stands there wholly independent, without the least inner connection with vs. 15 or vs. 17. All attempts, cited by Harnack in detail, to prove connection, the author declares baseless. If the kingdom of heaven is proclaimed as a joyful news, it is hard to understand why "every man entereth violently into it." A comparison with Matt. 11:12, 13 helps us to understand the text, proving, as it does, that the words: "The gospel of the kingdom of God is preached" do not belong to the original saying of Jesus. Uppermost in Luke's mind was the universalism of the gospel. How its blessings were to be obtained was to him of secondary importance. In his well-known optimism, Luke says that everybody, hearing the joyful news, is anxious to enter the kingdom. And thus the passage would mean: The law and the prophets, and these for the people of Israel alone, existed to the time of John the Baptist. In and with him their task has been completed. After John, i. e., now, the gospel of the kingdom of heaven is proclaimed; it is for all mankind and, therefore, they push impetuously in order to enter into it. Truly a great saying. To be sure, as the words read now, they are the original saying of Jesus, plus the Pauline conception of the universalism of the gospel's mission.

Matt. 11:12, 13: "And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and men of violence take it by force. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John." Here, the words are an integral part of a longer speech of Jesus on the work of John the Baptist, in which he emphasizes the fact that John was not only a prophet, but more than a prophet (vss. 9-11a); albeit he yet belonged to the old dispensation. But now the new dispensation has come in, designated as the coming of the kingdom of God, in which even the lowliest member shall be loftier than John (vs. 11b). Vs. 11 designates the kingdom of God as still in the future; according to vs. 12 it is now present. Here

Matthew fully agrees with Luke. Paraphrased, the text reads: [The lowliest in the kingdom of heaven is loftier than John.] This kingdom of heaven, however, is not of the future; it is rushing in⁴ now, after the days of John, with might and impetuosity; and only those who are impetuous and importunate strivers, will take possession of it;⁵ for all the prophets and the law have found the limit for their prophetic work in and with John. (Something wholly new must now have taken its place.) To be sure, John—if you admit the force of this reasoning—is the Elijah, who was to come as the immediate forerunner of the Messiah."

This interpretation is supported by the written utterance of the early church Fathers, a Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Origen, Chrysostom, and others. Harnack disproves, in detail, the interpretations of Wellhausen, Bernhard Weiss, and others who consider βιάζεται as passive, and βιασταί as having an evil, bad meaning.

It is one of the grandest statements of Jesus, preserved for us by Matthew. Jesus most emphatically maintains that now the kingdom of God is rushing in with importunity; that it is present in his preaching and in his mighty deeds. Himself he designates as the Messiah, who has even now begun his work; compare Matt. 11:5 and 12:28. The characterization, by Jesus, of the approaching kingdom of heaven and its members, is exactly the same as manifested in every truly great religious movement. Such also was the idea of Luther and the great reformers. John's task it had been to bring about man's inner preparation for the coming kingdom; now, the main task for mankind is to win the present kingdom with impetuosity and importunity. The fate of John the Baptist had by no means discouraged Jesus nor cast him down; on the contrary, he looked upon it as proof that the work of the forerunner was really done and fulfilled. And if so, then the kingdom is nigh at hand, at the door; yea, it is come! The law and the prophets have done their task; now begins the work of the kingdom of God, and his own work designates the kingdom of God as present.

In this conviction Jesus henceforth taught and spoke and labored

⁴ Cf. Acts 2:2 where "rushing" is used as an epithet of the spirit.

⁵ This also gives a new meaning to the parable of the importunate widow, Luke 18:1-8.

and encouraged his followers to take possession of the kingdom of God with importunity. And the recognition, on the part of his disciples, came to Jesus in the testimony of Peter at Caesarea Philippi. The words of Jesus, recorded in Matt., chap. 11, were the historic foundation for this recognition by his disciples, and were the starting-point for it. The imprisonment of John, and his question: "Art thou he that was to come, or shall we await another," were the deciding motives for Jesus to break away, so to speak, from John, and to gain, with the highest estimate of John's work as that of the closing representative of the past, a yet higher estimate of his own calling; and, thus, rise superior even to the Law and the Prophets.

SEEDS, OR SEED, IN GAL. 3:16

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In a note in the *Biblical World*, April, 1907, on "Peter or Cephas in Pauline usage," we pointed out the probability that a part of Gal. 2:7, 8, was a very early interpolation into the original text of the epistle. We would now call attention to Gal. 3:16b. "He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ."

It has been thought (Irenaeus, Augustine) that the apostle here speaks of Christ in a mystical sense, meaning *Christ and his church*, or even *the Church* alone, and Professor B. W. Bacon (*Jour. Bib. Lit.*, Vol. XVI, p. 139) thinks "the context does suggest the 'one man, Christ Jesus,' of whom both Jews and Gentiles are members, i. e., a collective Christ, in some sense." And he refers to Eph. 2:13-16; Gal. 3:28, and Rom. 4:1-6, as parallel passages.

On the other hand, Meyer holds that " $X\rho\iota\sigma\tau\delta s$ is the personal Christ Jesus," and that "the very contrast between $\pi o\lambda\lambda\hat{\omega}\nu$ and $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\delta s$ is against" this mystical use of $X\rho\iota\sigma\tau\delta s$ in a collective sense. Lightfoot, we believe, takes substantially the same view.

Neither of the two views is altogether satisfying. It is true that in this same chapter Paul considers the body of believers, whether Jewish or Gentile, as descendants of Abraham's faith, even if not of his loins, and heirs of the promises made to him. This is figurative, but not mystical, and the sharp contrast between "many" and "one" makes such a mystical interpretation, here, impossibly awkward. If, on the other hand, we adopt the natural meaning of the text, namely, that Jesus Christ is the (one) seed of Abraham, as distinguished from Abraham's other descendants, designated by God as the heir to the promises, and in which all the families of the earth were to be blessed, we cannot fail to conclude that Paul takes an unpardonable linguistic liberty, not only with the Greek, wherein $\sigma\pi\ell\rho\mu a$, though singular in form, is recognized as collective in sense,

but also, as we understand, with the Hebrew; and that he attempts without reason to reverse the general understanding that Gen., chaps. 12, 15, etc., do in fact refer to the descendants of Abraham collectively as "seed." It is true, of course, that Paul sometimes interprets freely, as for instance in the allegorizing of the story of Sarah and Hagar in this same epistle. But with Irenaeus, Augustine, and Professor Bacon, we cannot think that Paul would insist, from the singular form of the word seed, that its reference must be restricted to one descendant of Abraham, to the exclusion of all others.

From this internal evidence we venture, though recognizing the hazardousness of conjectural emendation unsupported by external evidence, to question the integrity of the passage. The sentence, "He saith not, seeds, etc.," is not a necessary or important part of the argument of the contest. It is at best parenthetical. It is not logically connected, either with what goes before or with what comes after, unless, interpreted in a recondite, mystical, forced, and awkward way, it is opposed to the meaning of the whole chapter. Yet the sentence is there, and as a possible explanation of its presence we conjecture that some very early reader, perhaps of the original letter, noted upon its margin that he (Paul) saith not seeds but seed, and must have meant Christ. If so, then, in subsequent copying the annotation, with its superficial look of piety, but with its real lack of understanding, took its place in the text, after a manner well known to the critic of manuscripts, and has remained there ever since. It may, at least, be said for this view that the psychological process which it ascribes to the copyist is in itself more probable than that which must be ascribed to Paul, if the words belong to the original text.

THE BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION AMONG THE FIRST CHRISTIANS

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There is a problem which arises for us in connection with the record of the religious life of the first generation of Christians. Why should belief in the resurrection have played such a supremely important part in this life? We know that if ever there was a time when religion was real, dominant, unquestionably controlling in men's lives, it was this time, and it was among at least the greatest of this first generation of Christians. And yet we know that when men since have read the record of these men's experience, and, having seen how all-pervading with them was the belief in a future life, have tried to use such a belief in a later day as a motive for Christian living, the result has been unsatisfactory. Time and time again it has been recognized that while men's outward conduct might be modified for the better by the hope of future reward and fear of punishment, men could not in their hearts become Christians through any such motive. The ages of the most unquestioning acceptance of the doctrine of immortality have not always been the ages of the greatest amount of true good-The man who will not do right for the love of right is not made a saint by believing that if he is good he will go to heaven.

But we need not look to other ages besides that of the apostles to find a contrast which shall give us food for thought. The standard-bearers of the contemporary Jewish orthodoxy, the Pharisees, were believers in the resurrection of the righteous dead. An account of their belief has been left us by Josephus.¹ The existence of this belief is strikingly evidenced by an incident recorded in the Book of Acts. St. Paul, at Jerusalem, pleading before the council of hostile Jews, had but to exclaim, "I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees: touching the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question;" immediately dissension arose among those who the moment before

¹ Jewish War, ii, viii, 14; Antiquities, xviii, 1, 3 f.

were united in opposition to him. The Pharisees acknowledged him now as a champion of the truth which they earnestly maintained in opposition to their liberal and worldly rivals, the Sadducees; they at once were lined up on his side (Acts 23:6–10; 24:21). The word "resurrection" acted for them as a party rallying cry. But if the Pharisees could hold this belief as strongly as this incident indicates, and yet religion could be with them so outward and superficial a thing that they became the typical hypocrites of all history, how is it that the same belief should appear a fundamental cause of the wonderful religious zeal of the first Christians? In those Christians true religion not only entered but possessed the heart; and everywhere we read that religion for them meant very largely belief in the resurrection.

Glance at the facts. These men learned their Christianity from the apostles' preaching; and what was the substance of that preaching? It had apparently two chief elements; and the record of it is nowhere better summed up than in the words describing for us St. Paul's discourse at Athens: "He preached Jesus and the resurrection" (Acts 17:18). Let it be granted that at a later day in the parts of the New Testament which reflect the life of the second generation of Christians, the doctrine of the resurrection falls relatively somewhat into the background; in the first generation, it is clearly evidenced by the records, the central objects of the faith of these men were Jesus and the resurrection. And not only do we find this in the The history of deeds shows it. When Jesus reported sermons. was crucified, his disciples were utterly disheartened. They had trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel; but now their faith was slain. But when they were convinced of Christ's resurrection, they were transformed. The resurrection made them, instead of discouraged, despairing peasants, the Christian church, that church militant, invincible, which set out promptly on the campaign which conquered the Roman Empire. An enthusiasm such as the world had never, and has never since, seen—that was put into them by the resurrection. A spirit of self-sacrifice surpassing in its results the work of armies—this the belief, which in other ages has called forth mere superficial good conduct, inspired in them. And what moved these first believers moved those to whom they spoke. With general consent the historical records bear witness that what gave

these first Christian evangelists their wonderful power to win victories for the faith was their preaching of the resurrection. Or look at it more individually, where we have motives revealed to us more intimately. I suppose that, rightly seen, there has been no life in the world's history, save only that of the Master, more wonderful than that of his servant St. Paul. Saul the zealous, but the disheartened, the embittered and the persecuting Pharisee, became that Paul whose Christian experience has apparently been unequaled in nineteen centuries. And what made this change in him? What was the cause of his conversion? The Jesus whom he had supposed forever slain appeared to him alive, giving him the certainty of his resurrection.²

It has been said that it is not to be expected that any age in history shall successfully analyze in consciousness its own life, nor rightly interpret the source and secret of its most characteristic power. And so in those early sermons of the apostles, recorded for us in the Book of Acts, we must not look to find an adequate explanation of how the belief in the resurrection made these men Christians. truth appears somewhat more clearly in St. Paul's Epistles. Why did the possession of the same belief in a future life which could not make good men of the Pharisees, which has been utterly inadequate as a motive among subsequent generations of Christians, make saints of them? Wherein lay the difference? Was it not here? Iesus had proclaimed what was in effect a new doctrine—the doctrine that God is love, that God is our Father. Of this truth the Pharisees had not been believers; even the greatest of God's prophets had merely glimpsed it. It was not to be expected that Galilean peasants should in a short time, after no very profound experience, make it their own. God is love—how could men feel this? Tesus first showed by his own life what love was. Then he showed it by his death. The disciples now felt that love existed—felt it in a way that no men before ever could have felt it; but was God love? Had not love been defeated-proved powerless-slain on the cross? Was not love fruitless? Had not this world's order been shown to possess no answer for it but ruthless disregard? Then came the resurrection. Jesus, the all-loving, was the Christ. He was mankind's Master, he was the

² Cf. also I Cor. 15: 1-19, and especially vss. 14, 19.

Son of God. God is our Father, he is love. For to Jesus, and to the true follower of Jesus, defeat and death do not end all. God is on their side. Do we not see, then, why, for the first Christians, belief in the resurrection was so important? It meant to them the truth of Christ's teaching that God is love. It proved to them that God cared for them as a perfect Father for his dear children. And it was the power of God's love that made them saints.

Some men have perhaps believed in God's love without believing in immortality. That love has so clearly come into their lives, on this earth-they have had so much to live for-that even were death to end all, they felt that God was their Father. But in that first century, there was not so much to live for on earth. Life for the good man meant suffering and persecution and discouragement. The bad said, Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die. When life held so little, and the world was so manifestly growing worse, and God's chosen people were apparently forsaken, St. Peter and St. John and St. Paul could not have believed that God is love had they not believed in the resurrection. God must show his love somewhere; and it was not clearly enough shown here. I do not mean that they believed in God's fatherhood because they believed in the resurrection. Belief in God's fatherhood is too wonderful a thing. The conviction that there is a future life, as a cause, is utterly inadequate to produce this belief as an effect. It was Jesus Christ who produced this belief in them. But it was not Jesus, known to be defeated and slain. It was Jesus Christ risen again, giving them the promise that they too should rise. The two beliefs, in God's fatherhood and in the resurrection, for men leading such lives, could not be separated. They were intimately bound together.

Mankind insistently demands for itself happiness. What estimate are we to put upon this demand? Is it a legitimate one? Is it pleasing to God? Those who have felt themselves competent to be the moral teachers of mankind have given very different answers to this question. There is on the one side the answer that the only good thing is the good will; that the doing of one's duty alone is valuable; and one does one's duty most fully when one does what is disagreeable, simply from a sense of duty. Happiness is not a good; we should not ask for it. And so, very recently, one thinker³ has written, in

³ Josiah Royce, Hibbert Journal, July, 1907.

arguing in favor of man's immortality, that the only proper ground for belief in life after death is that we have not the chance to finish doing our duty here. Hence we may believe that death does not end all, because we have a right to continue doing our duty. But we have no right to ask of God any other kind of satisfaction; we have no claim to be made happy; if we are not happy here, that gives us no evidence that we shall live hereafter, but only if we cannot finish doing our duty here. This on one side. On the other side men have held it right to teach that we should do good here simply in order to be happy hereafter—so important to them seemed happiness. Others have said that goodness simply is that conduct which produces the greatest happiness of the greatest number; the only object of goodness is to cause happiness. To look at a teaching on a considerably higher level, Robert Louis Stevenson says: to be happy "is the whole of culture, and perhaps two-thirds of morality."4 That is, if I understand him correctly, the sole purpose, the sole test of success, in cultivating the mind and the heart, is the production of happiness; and of all the duty of mankind at large, two-thirds consists of the duty of being, and thereby of making others, happy. So vastly important, in his mind, was happiness. To be happy is not only man's privilege; it is his duty. Now between these extremes of opinion, where lies the truth?

We cannot believe that a man should be told to be good simply in order to gain happiness as an outward reward—happiness that is not involved in the goodness itself. That is not Christianity. Goodness does not come in that way. But this, I hold, is true. Duty alone, mere doing, cannot be separated from the rest of life. I do not do a thing better because I hate to do it. Christianity means that man's life must be whole—that feeling and thinking and willing must work together—that man must knowingly do right because he loves to, and must love to do what he knows is right. So duty and truth and happiness combine. There is a proverb, "Man is whole only when he plays." When he plays he is doing what he wants to do, and putting his whole self into the doing. And that is the ideal state. Joy is essential to man's true life; because without joy man can work only half-heartedly; and half-hearted work is always incomplete work. There is no such thing as duty completely done without happiness.

^{4 &}quot;The Amateur Emigrant," Works (Scribners, New York, 1898), Vol. XV, p. 39.

To demand the chance to do our duties completely is to demand happiness; if the doing of duty is, so also is happiness, a right of mankind. Satisfaction—the heart's satisfaction—is an essential part of life.

This truth the apostles knew; and it is this fact which shows us the meaning of their faith in the resurrection. Unless there were satisfaction attainable, it could not be that this world is governed by our Father; and they had not attained satisfaction here. But they believed in the resurrection, they believed that they would gain satisfaction, happiness, wholeness of life, hereafter; and so they believed that God is love. And the power of God's love made them saints.

The writer to the Hebrews has expressed the truth for us: "Without faith it is impossible to be well-pleasing unto God; for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that seek after him" (Heb. 11:6).

For this reason, in spite of what some today say to the contrary, it is not a slight thing that we should have faith in life eternal. Belief in life eternal means belief that God is a rewarder; are we true children of God without it? Can we, without this belief, feel that God is our Father? We can only if we have not faced the problem of the world's misery—if for us, and for those we know, happiness and satisfaction are truly contained in this life. God grant that there may be many who, for themselves at least, need never face that problem! But for those who do face the problem—and how great numbers do!—belief in the life beyond the grave is an essential part of the belief that God is their Father.

But this, I think, is not the only lesson that we are to draw from the fact of the first Christians' soul-impelling faith in the resurrection. It should teach us, also, that in this present life we must not underestimate the importance, the true value of happiness. There is, of course, constantly at our hands, an entirely wrong way of valuing happiness. It is incompatible with the spirit of the true Christian that he should faithlessly, as not seeing Him who is invisible, demand always satisfaction in the sphere of the immediate and the tangible. Suffering that is physical, whether in our bodies or our estates, may prove our best training-school. Such trying of our faith may work patience, and patience may have her perfect work. As material

things fade, the things of the spirit may be grasped. Our crosses can raise us nearer God. Nor will the true Christian, if he has known the heart of Christian doctrine, forget that in a world where the most broadly and profoundly significant fact is the interrelationship between man and all his fellows, some men, individually deserving of happiness, may be singled out by the great Disposer to suffer vicariously. The suffering of one brings happiness to another, mitigates the sufferings of a third, results from the personal imperfections of a fourth. And the first, if he is a Christian, will not lose faith because he suffers. He will see blessedness in following Him who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame. —let us not go too far. Suffering can at best be only a transient good. It can never be in accord with the ideal that any man should suffer. Has illness or temporal loss proved a blessing because the man was being spoiled by prosperity? If he was, where lay the fault? Not, certainly, in the prosperity, which consisted in God's good gifts; but in the man himself, who used these gifts wrongly. Or have we reconciled ourselves to believe that it is God's loving will that we should suffer that others may be benefited? Let us hold fast to this faith; but let it not blind us to the truth that the ultimate object of vicarious suffering lies not within itself; that object is to root out and remove from others sin and imperfection, the causes of suffering, that in them may be developed that wholeness of life which is Christianity, and which includes, as one of its essential elements, Suffering may be a means—a means so high that we happiness. call it divine; but the ideal, which is the end for which we always strive, does and must involve perfect happiness.

Then if happiness, so much more truly than suffering, is divine, it is a thing which, as Christians, we should truly desire to see, in our present lives, and all around us. For the apostles, belief in future bliss, we saw, was not the cause of their belief that God is love, but it was intimately, probably inseparably, bound up with this belief. Men knowing life's misery as they knew it *must* believe in future happiness or not believe in God's fatherhood. And many of us are like them. But if the conviction that there is happiness laid up for us has such power to aid us to the knowledge of God's love, must not the possession of true happiness here and now have vastly greater

power to aid the entrance of God's love into our hearts? We may not use our happiness aright; we may be spoiled by prosperity; but if so, the fault will lie in us alone. Happiness is God's own gift. The heart's satisfaction is the heart's knowledge of God. Let us never be forgetful of this. It is easy for the happy man to have faith; and he needs faith. To be happy, to produce happiness, is one of our profoundest duties. If in play, true play, alone can man be whole, then let play be an essential part of our life's ideal; be it our aim that all our work shall be to us play, and that our play shall be always useful and productive. For Christianity means wholeness. By causing happiness, let us be ever bringing into the life of mankind God's love; for the power of God's love has made men saints; and the knowledge of this love is the profoundest need of man.

CAIN AND ABEL: GEN. 4:3-8

REV. ERNEST W. ALTVATER Burrs Mills, N. Y.

The difficult question about this narrative is: Why did Jehovah not accept Cain's offering as well as Abel's? There have been many attempts to answer this question, but they have, in general, been unsatisfactory, because they were mere guesses, stimulated by sentiment, and a desire to answer the question. The New International Encyclopaedia may be cited as giving a typical answer, and it offers this as the reason; Abel offered his sacrifice with love, whereas Cain did not. But this is a mere guess, and does not probably throw any light upon the thought which lay in the mind of the originator of the story. Dr. Paterson, of Aberdeen, mentions some of the answers which have commonly been given, and speaks of their inadequacy, but does not propose any which he regards as satisfactory. present writer believes that the answer must be found in the historical situation in which the story grew up. But he believes that in order to answer this question, we must first ask the more critical one: Why did the originator of this story say that Jehovah accepted Abel's offering but did not accept Cain's? This requires a thorough examination of the circumstances out of which the story sprang.

There seems to be a general agreement that the circumstances which gave rise to the story were those which obtained in Canaan while the Hebrews were making the transition from the nomadic to the agricultural stage.² The present writer believes that it was produced before the situation, as we find it in the time of Elijah, was fully developed. It is the outgrowth of a struggle which arose between the conservative and the radical tendencies among the Hebrews in regard to the worship of Jehovah. The historical situation, as it stood in the time of Elijah, was this: The Hebrews had entered Canaan some centuries before. The influence of the Canaanite was upon them, and they had laid aside many of their nomadic

¹ Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, p. 338b.

² Ibid., p. 339a.

practices to take up the agricultural practices of the Canaanites. Henotheism had been the prevailing type of religion among the Hebrews since the time of Moses, i. e., Jehovah was held to be but one god among many, but he was the greatest of them all, and the only one to whom the Hebrew should give his worship. Now when the transition in civilization occurred, two parties arose among the Hebrews. One party was conservative, and the other was radical. The conservative party said: "No matter what mode of life we follow, Jehovah alone is God of the Hebrews, and him alone must we worship in accordance with the time-honored customs of the pastoral days." In process of time the radical party came to say: "We are becoming an agricultural people. Not only must we worship Jehovah, the God of our pastoral life, and of our fathers; we must also worship Baal. the god of agriculture, and of the land to which we have come." These are precisely the issues which were in contest in the time of Elijah. A large party in Israel were insisting that they must worship Baal as well as Jehovah. Elijah was a strict Jehovah-worshiper. and he vigorously opposed the drift of the Hebrews toward the dual mode of worship. He challenged the Baal-Jehovah worshipers to a contest of the power of the gods. He forced them to take the position that it was absurd for them to worship more than one God. "If Jehovah be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him" (I Kings 18:21). The only question to be settled was: Which god should be worshiped? In the contest, Elijah's contention was sustained, but he was reduced to such straits on account of the persecutions of Jezebel that he despaired of his life (I Kings 19:4). Now, whatever credence we may be inclined to give to this story, it must be admitted that it does represent very correctly a certain crisis in the religion of the Hebrews. It shows how sharp were the issues between the conservatives and the radicals, and how strenuous were the strict Jehovah-worshipers in maintaining pure Jehovah worship.

This crisis in the time of Elijah was one which, no doubt, had a history. Baal worship did not spring up instantaneously in the days of Elijah. Before party lines became so distinct as they were in his time, there must have been a time when they were not so distinct. The Hebrews drifted gradually away from pure Jehovah worship, as they drifted gradually into the agricultural habits of the Canaan-

ites. Perhaps they did not begin to worship Baal in the beginning of their transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life; they simply began to worship Jehovah in the forms which were used by the Canaanites in their worship of Baal. Instead of offering Jehovah animal sacrifices, as their fathers had always done because they had nothing else to offer, they now began to offer him sacrifices from the products of the soil, as they saw the Canaanites do in the service of Baal. But this would be enough to stir up vigorous opposition among the conservative Jehovah worshipers. They would resist any innovations which tended to make the worship of Jehovah like the worship given by other peoples to other gods; for there was no God like Jehovah, and Jehovah should not be worshiped as any other god. The opposition would, no doubt, bring on a strife as bitter as that which occurred in the days of Elijah, and it might well be as disastrous to those who carried it forward. In their extremity they would, no doubt, resort to every means to maintain themselves. What would be more effective than to put their enemies' practices in a bad light; to tell how once a trial had been made of their form of worship, and Jehovah did not accept it? What would be more natural than for the persecuted party to try to discredit their enemies by telling such a story as that of Cain and Abel? Abel represented the conservative who brought the customary animal offering which was acceptable to Jehovah; Cain stood for the newer views and the broader and richer worship. He would widen the sphere of Jehovah's interests and make him the God of agriculture as well as of war and the desert. But Jehovah frowns upon his unprecedented offering, and in jealous wrath Cain slays his more fortunate brother.

There are several features of this historical situation which make it easy to believe that this part of the Cain story had its origin here. There was surely a contest on between the strict Jehovah worshipers and the lax Jehovah worshipers. Such a story would be a strong instrument, either for attack or defense. It was well in accord with the practice of many men of the Old Testament (cf. the books of Job and Jonah; Isa. 5:1-2; II Sam. 12:1-6, etc.). This story would be exactly to the point if conservative Jehovah worshipers were using it against persecuting Baal-patterning Jahwists. The same general situation which called forth the Elijah story would very naturally

give rise to this. There is much parallelism between them. In the Elijah story, the question at issue was whether men should worship Iehovah or Baal. To settle it, two altars were set up side by side, and offerings were made to each God. Jehovah was the only God who responded, thereby proving that men should worship Jehovah only (I Kings 18:20-40). In the Cain story, the question at issue was whether the Hebrews should worship Jehovah as they had always done, or whether they should adopt some of the customs used by the Canaanites in their worship of Baal. To settle it, two altars were set up side by side, and an offering was made to Jehovah by each method. Jehovah recognized only the offering which had been made in the old way, thereby condemning the innovations drawn from the worship of Baal. The parallelism between the two stories is so strong that it makes one think that both must have grown up out of the same general situation. The difference in the questions at issue indicates that the Genesis story was formed in a situation prior to that described in Kings. The similarity in the mode of settling the questions indicates that the time between the two was not so very great.

Now if this explanation is correct, it is easy to see why the originator of the story should say that Jehovah accepted Abel's offering, but did not accept Cain's. It was because he was a conservative Jehovah worshiper. He was opposed to the radicalism of his times, and he framed his story to sustain him in his contention. The answer to our main question, the common one, the question as to why Jehovah did not accept Cain's offering as well as Abel's, is now very easy. It was because, in the judgment of the originator of the story, Jehovah was not a God whose appetites changed with fashion—a God who did not care to accept sacrifices which the Hebrews had learned to offer from the heathen.

Work and Whorkers

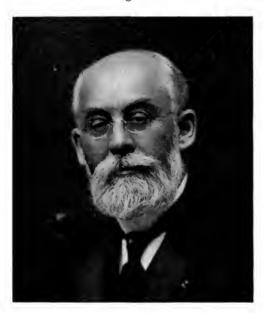
REV. ERASTUS BLAKESLEE, D.D., for twenty years one of the leaders in Sunday-school progress, died in Boston on July 12, at the age of seventy years. He leaves behind him an honorable record of able and faithful service—first, as a soldier in the Civil War, where he rose from the ranks to the position of brigadier-general; second, in the Congregational pastorate over churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut; third, as an editor and publisher of Sunday-school lessons, for the last two decades of his life. It is a notable thing in his career that he had reached the age of fifty years before he entered upon the particular work that engaged his complete interest and his supreme efforts—the Sunday-school work, by which he is best known, and for which he would wish to be remembered.

The limitations and defects of current Sunday-school instruction impressed themselves strongly upon him during his pastorate at Spencer, Mass., 1887–92. He realized that the young people of his church were getting only a limited and superficial knowledge of the Bible, while he wanted them to have a thorough acquaintance with it. Weekly Bible lessons of his own construction were introduced in the place of the international uniform lessons, and with great success. The new principles which he used were: (1) a connected study of biblical history; (2) a use of all the biblical material, instead of brief selections; (3) a division of the Bible into several great sections, with a systematic study of each; (4) the orderly arrangement of the Sunday-school lessons through a series of years, somewhat in the way of a curriculum; (5) the use of questions for written answers.

Dr. Blakeslee's chief aim was to get away from the desultory moralizing of the Sunday-school hour to a kind of Bible-study that would bear comparison with day-school work. At the time that he was preparing these courses of instruction at Spencer, President W. R. Harper (then Professor Harper at Yale University) was attracting attention in New England by his "Inductive Studies" in the history, literature, and teaching of the Bible. Dr. Blakeslee sought President's Harper advice and co-operation, but the removal of President Harper to Chicago in 1891, when he assumed the presidency of the University of Chicago, interrupted this alliance at an early stage. Dr. Blakeslee then secured the assistance of able biblical

scholars to oversee his work, and went forward bravely to prepare various series and grades of lesson helps on the new lines.

In 1892 his plans had so far advanced, and the success of his lessons was so promising, that he gave up his pastorate to devote his entire time to the Sunday-school work. He established publishing headquarters at Boston, and obtained the support of many prominent ministers, professors, and Sunday-school workers in an organization entitled the Bible Study Union. His indefatigable labors as lesson-writer, editor, publisher, and



THE LATE REV. ERASTUS BLAKESLEE, D.D.

promoter of Sunday-school progress brought him national renown and enabled him to be for twenty years one of the chief leaders in this branch of church activity.

The Blakeslee lessons were the pioneers of a new day in Sunday-school instruction. And they necessarily had much fighting to do. The field was in possession of the International Sunday-School Association, with its uniform lesson system. This type of instruction had during some twenty years established itself strongly. The great denominational publishing

houses had built up expensive plants for the production and distribution of these lessons. The Sunday-school world had come to believe that the uniform system was ideal. Dr. Blakeslee undertook to convince America that this opinion was mistaken, and that his lessons led the way to a better type of instruction. He had therefore both a pedagogical and a commercial war to wage. This did not daunt him. His military achievements in Virginia in 1863–64 had developed his capacities for a strenuous campaign. He pushed forward the Bible Study Union lessons with unwavering faith and tireless energy.

Each year brought larger success. The courses of lessons were frequently revised. More than once they were entirely remade. The

necessity of keeping his lessons within the capacity of the schools that wanted to use them, and the desire to build up a large constituency for these publications, delayed the full realization of his pedagogical principles. In the matter of gradation, his method was gradation of treatment of common biblical material for the whole school rather than a gradation of the biblical material itself. So that the Blakeslee lessons constituted a bridge from the uniform system of lessons to what we now know as graded lessons. But it was for a time necessary to construct and operate such a bridge. Now that the chasm has been crossed, and the graded curriculum has been accepted as the Sunday-school ideal, Dr. Blakeslee deserves recognition as one of the foremost prophets of this movement.

In the last five years he saw the new direction that Sunday-school instruction was taking, and joined heartily with those who were leading a further advance. The creation in 1903 of the Religious Education Association, with its aggressive purpose and high ideal of Sunday-school education, was not only welcomed by Dr. Blakeslee—he was in fact one of the persons that instigated its organization, through his personal acquaintance with President Harper, the founder of the Association. And he was until his death one of the ablest and most active workers of the Association in its Sunday-School Department. The rapid progress in Sunday-school ideals and methods achieved in the last five years in America opened the way for the further development of the Bible Study Union lessons, and it was his intention to remake them in accordance with the graded curriculum requirements. It was remarkable that he kept pace with the advance.

We are assured that the Blakeslee courses of Bible-study will be continued and improved as their author planned. Dr. Blakeslee's son, Robert Blakeslee, aided by the editorial staff associated with his father, will maintain their publication. There is no less need today than there was twenty years ago for a complete system of Sunday-school instruction on the lines of scientific education, and a glorious future awaits the first system that can bring an ideal curriculum into existence. It would be a fitting monument to Dr. Blakeslee's memory if the Bible Study Union lessons could render this service and achieve this distinction.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

The Institute announces this year in its Outline Series of Courses for Bible Classes and Individuals ten courses. One of these is a new course on The Origin and Religious Teaching of the Old Testament Books. The title might indicate something far from elementary, but the course is intended to be used by beginners in the study of the Old Testament from the modern point of view. It differs from other works on biblical introduction in that it aims to lead the student to find out for himself from the actual reading of the Bible text as much as possible about the origin and teaching of the books. It does not, however, leave the student entirely to this method, but gives him in connection with each book or series of books a sufficient introduction to start him aright in his reading.

This course is presented in response to the request which has been coming from all quarters for a course which will enable a pastor to introduce his young people to the Old Testament in a living way, or a Sunday-school teacher to secure the general survey and appreciation of the Old Testament which he needs as a background for all Old Testament teaching, and will, while adopting the modern point of view, not concern itself with higher criticism as such, but present to the student the historical development of the Old Testament literature, leading him to see the immense religious significance of this literature in the past, in the present, and in the future.

The demand for short courses is this year fully met. The Universal Element in the Psalter is a course which, while not neglecting the help of historical and literary study, seeks to emphasize the use of the Psalms from a devotional point of yiew in such a way as to give fresh interest to psalms already familiar to many. A three months' work on the Book of Job has been extracted from The Work of the Old Testament Sages and published separately. In the two-months' course on Four Letters of Paul, the section on Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans has been extracted from the longer course on The Founding of the Christian Church, by Professor Ernest D. Burton.

The course on The Founding of The Christian Church covers the period to be studied by the International Lessons during the year 1909. Here,

too, is a point of union between the work of the Institute and the general Bible-study public which does not frequently occur.

It is interesting to note as an evidence of the present trend in Bible study that in the year which closed July first the course on the Social and Ethical Teachings of Jesus was only second to the Foreshadowings of the Christ in the entire list. Does this not indicate on the one hand that there is an increasing interest in the Old Testament, and on the other hand that it is the practical bearing of the teaching of Jesus upon present-day problems which is seen to be the vital element in the study of his life?

The Professional Reading Courses of the Institute, designed to assist ministers and Bible teachers in keeping fresh in professional reading, are this year seventeen in number. The last one to be added is a course which is greatly needed. The average minister has not the time to go into questions of criticism or of philosophy to any great extent. He cannot accept the work of scholars on the basis of his own investigation of the problems which have been met by scholarship. He must look at results and accept them according to his faith in the honesty of scholarship and the reasonableness of the results. What he wishes to know is the bearing of it all upon present thought and life in so far as it concerns what he he is to preach, teach, and believe. The new course is entitled Constructive Theories of Modern Scholarship concerning the Bible, the Church, and Religion.

It is not to be supposed that the books constituting this course are in any sense final. They are, however, constructive. They are forerunners of a literature which will be increasingly helpful. They are the books which every minister should read and think about, criticize and improve upon if possible.

It should be remembered that any minister may become a member of the Professional Reading Guild through his subscription to the Biblical World or the American Journal of Theology, whether this subscription be a renewal or a new subscription, provided only that he makes known his desire to belong to this Guild when he sends in his subscription. The helps consist of review sheets prepared by specialists and accompanied by further bibliography.

These courses are frequently made the basis of a writer's work for ministers' clubs or associations. Vital topics for discussion are therefore a part of each review.

Exploration and Discovery

THE GREAT ASSUAN DAM AND THE MONUMENTS OF NUBIA

It has been decided by the government of Egypt to raise the great dam at Assuan seven meters above its present level. This means that the country above the dam will be inundated far beyond the limits of the present lake, already as large as that of Geneva in Switzerland. While the results may be very gratifying in the economic development of the



A TEMPLE AT PHILAE, SUBMERGED TO THE CAPITALS

Nile valley below Assuan, such results are not likely to compensate the archaeologists and the cultivated public interested in the monuments and remains of early civilization to be buried thus under many feet of water. The government has foreseen this dissatisfaction and has appropriated several hundred thousand dollars for the investigation and conservation of the ancient remains to be endangered or destroyed, particularly the early cemeteries which will be flooded.

The beautiful temple of Isis on the Island of Philae, already sadly injured by the invading waters, which at present rise almost to the capitals of the columns, will, after the raising of the dam, be completely submerged. with the possible exception of the very summits of the tall pylon towers. Such submergence year by year must of course result in the slow disintegration of the stone, and the ultimate complete destruction of what has been the loveliest building in Egypt. The loss to the modern visitor is but the beginning; for the numerous records and inscriptions on the walls have never been properly copied and published. The same is true of the other Ptolemaic temples, forming a group extending along the river for forty miles above the Assuan dam. The work of the University of Chicago Expedition, in recording permanently and thus preserving all the inscribed monuments of Nubia, extended down to, but did not include these temples. It is very gratifying therefore that the Royal Academy of Berlin has secured a grant of government funds for the purpose of continuing down to the dam this work of rescuing the Egyptian monuments of Nubia so nearly completed by the Chicago expedition. In the conduct of this work the director of the Royal German Expedition, Professor Schaefer, director of the Egyptian Museum at Berlin, has adopted the field methods developed in the course of the Chicago expedition by Breasted, purchased the entire epigraphic equipment of the Chicago expedition, and secured also part of its staff. With the disinterestedness characteristic of German science the records of the Berlin expedition will be placed at the disposal of Professor Breasted, director of the Chicago expedition, to be embodied in his corpus of the monuments of Nubia.

A SCIENTIFIC FORGERY

Readers of Herodotus will recall his interesting account of the circumnavigation of Africa by an expedition sent out by Pharaoh Necho, about 600 B. C. Doubt has in modern times been cast upon this story of the father of history. Some weeks ago a communication read before the French Academy announced the discovery of contemporary evidence specifically recording the event narrated by Herodotus. It was in the form of two scarabs, or sacred beetles, cut in stone, inscribed with a narrative of the return of the expedition. One of the scarabs (now in Paris) purported to be issued by the king, and the other (now in Brussels) by the commander of the expedition: It now transpires, that some time before the French and the Belgians secured the documents, copies of the inscriptions they bear had been offered to Professors Erman and Schaefer

at the Royal Museum in Berlin. These gentlemen immediately recognized that the inscriptions were forgeries. They had forgotten all about the matter, until seeing the publication of the communication to the French Academy, Professor Erman immediately handed to the Royal Academy in Berlin a complete demonstration that the documents are forgeries. Professor Erman's communication shows clearly how the forged narrative has been pieced together out of genuine old Egyptian records of sea voyages, thus forming a patchwork of ungrammatical and impossible anachronisms in language.



From a photograph by Breasted

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RAMSES II AND THE HITTITES ON THE TEMPLE WALL AT KARNAK

Book Reviews

The Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets. By Professor W. H. Bennett. London: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. 396. \$2.

This is the first volume issued in a series of "The Literature and Religion of Israel," edited by the Rev. James Hastings, D.D., published by T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh, and imported by Scribners. To Professor Skinner is due the classification of the literature of the series, which with the authors assigned is as follows: "Foundations," by Professor Morris Jastrow; "Institutions and Legislation," by Professor A. R. S. Kennedy; "History," by Professor Hope W. Hogg; "Psalms," by Professor Buchanan Gray; "Pre-Exilic Prophets," by Professor R. H. Kennett; "Post-Exilic Prophets," by Professor W. H. Bennett; "Wisdom Literature," by Professor J. Skinner; "Historical Apologues," by Dr. James Moffatt; "Apocalyptic Literature," (2 vols.), by Professor R. H. Charles. The names of these authors are a sufficient guarantee of the high character of the scholarly work to be expected, and the first volume issued abundantly justifies this expectation. Professor Bennett is well known as an eminent Old Testament scholar, author of an Old Testament Introduction and of a Primer of the Bible; Joshua in the Polychrome Series; and of a number of important articles in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible and the Encyclopaedia Biblica.

The critical standpoint assumed in this volume is practically that of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. This will doubtless be the same in the other volume of the series.

The conception of the series is a significant fact in biblical study as it clearly recognizes the truth that in order to gain a true knowledge of Old Testament doctrine not only must each period be studied but also each class of literature. The significance of the contribution of the present volume to Old Testament study is twofold: first, because the prophetic teaching represents the highest plane of Old Testament inspiration, and secondly, because there is an increasing realization on the part of the biblical scholars of the importance of the Exile and the subsequent centuries in the religious development of Israel. Though this latter point is referred to and implied in the different chapters, a separate chapter or section (even if the treatment had to be brief) could have been given with advantage especially to the significance of the Exile, in which the main features

of importance could have been grouped for the benefit of the reader. It should be noted that the prophetic literature of the Exile is included in this volume.

The first part of the book is devoted to the separate prophecies taken in chronological order. In regard to the knotty problem of the Servant-of-Jehovah passages (poems), viz., Isa. 42:1-9; 49:1-13; 50:4-11; 52:13—53:12, the author is inclined to the view of different authorship from the rest of chaps. 40-55. In any case they possess features in common not found in the rest of this section, and so can well be treated separately in a work on biblical theology. Following Duhm, Cheyne, and other recent writers Isa., chaps. 56-66 is considered an appendix to Isa., chaps. 40-55, dating largely from the years 470-420 B.C., i.e., a period which includes the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. To the Greek period are assigned Joel, Zech. chaps. 9-14, Jonah, and Isa., chaps. 24-27.

The following is the plan or treatment in these chapters: A brief outline (or analysis) of the prophecy is first given. This is followed by a statement of what is known of the prophet himself, and then comes the summation of the principal features of his work and teaching. This represents an excellent piece of analytic and constructive work. This can be seen for instance in the treatment of Ezekiel, the importance of whose conserving work in the political and religious life of Israel is being more and more appreciated. This prophet's importance he considers due to two facts (p. 28): first that his faith survived the destruction of Jerusalem, and as a result he was able to inspire hope in the despairing exiles; and in the second place on account of the happy blending of the prophet and priest in his person, so "that he was enabled to mediate between the sacerdotal and the prophetic tendencies in the religion of Israel." Under these two heads he thinks that most of Ezekiel's characteristic teaching may be placed, and proceeds to classify it accordingly.

The second and larger part of the book (pp. 133-375) is taken up with the classification of the various doctrines of the exilic and post-exilic prophets. The scope of this treatment can be seen by reference to the titles of the different chapters: "The Nature and Attributes of God;" "God and the World, Nature;" "God and Man, the Gentiles;" "God and Israel;" "Revelation;" "Nature of Man;" "The Normal Religious Life;" "Righteousness and Sin;" "Rewards and Punishments;" "Atonement and Final Reprobation;" "The Future of Israel and the World—the Kingdom of God;" "The Messiah;" "The Individual after Death."

These are chapters of great value and interest to the Old Testament student. The one on "Atonement and Final Reprobation" is of special

interest, particularly in the discussion whether the Old Testament presents a theory of sacrifice. Here the author agrees with Piepenbring that "it does not explain just how the atonement is effected" (p. 323).

The prophets and lawgivers [he adds] did not invent sacrifices; they found them existing as part of the normal religious life of the people. Most priests would be as little interested in any theory of sacrifice as a modern choirleader in the question why anthems are pleasing to the Almighty (pp. 323 f.). . . . If reasons were asked for sacrificing according to some specific ritual, it would be sufficient to reply that it was so ordained of God (p. 324).

He cites the late Professor Davidson's conclusion, that the expression in Lev. 17:11, "for the life of the flesh is in the blood," "comes nearest to explanation though without supplying it" (p. 325). He notes also the words of the same verse: "I (Jehovah) have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls (lives)" as bearing out his view, i.e., "the blood atones because God has appointed that it should atone" (p. 325).

The author deals with the doctrine of vicarious atonement, especially as emphasized in the great Servant passage, Isa. 52:13—53:12, where "the fact of vicarious atonement could hardly be more clearly and definitely expressed; but still the passage does not provide us with any theory; it does not say why God should forgive sinners because an innocent man had suffered" (p. 327).

To those who are accustomed to read philosophical conceptions into biblical passages the author's treatment of this important subject will doubtless seem unsatisfactory, but the more one familiarizes himself with the Hebrew mental attitude the more will Professor Bennett's conclusions commend themselves. The absence of the philosophical and speculative spirit, especially in reference to religious practices, is one of the marked characteristics of the Old Testament writers.

Professor Bennett has furnished an important contribution to Old Testament study. His book will be indispensable to Old Testament teachers, and to ministers who desire a scholarly treatment of the prophetical literature in this important period of Israel's history. There is nothing however of a technical character in the book to debar its use from the layman. It would mark a distinct advance in the work of religious education if books such as this would be read and studied by Sunday-school teachers and other Christian workers. Such a book as this ought to help to dispel any lingering misapprehension that critical study cannot be combined with reverent attitude toward the Bible and with positive, religious contribution to biblical knowledge.

A careful reference in footnotes to biblical passages and to authors cited, also indices of subjects and scriptural passages, are features of the volume to be commended.

HARLAN CREELMAN

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The Censorship of the Church of Rome and the Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature. A Study of the History of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, together with Some Consideration of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State. By George Haven Putnam. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Vol. I, pp. xxxv+375, \$2.50; Vol. II, pp. 510, \$2.50.

These volumes undertake as their principal function a presentation of indexes which were issued under the authority of the church of Rome, or which, compiled by ecclesiastics, were issued by the state between 1546 and 1900. As secondary function the volumes give "a selection of the more noteworthy examples of censorship during the earlier centuries of the church," record instances of censorship by states, discuss the effect of censorship on the production and distribution of literature, and, finally, attempt a study of the literary policy of the modern church.

This is a programme of wide range and the author disavows any pretension to completeness on the subject of indexes and asserts that he presents simply "examples of prohibition and condemnations, from decade to decade, which were typical or characteristic, and from which some impression could be gathered as to the nature and extent of the censorship experiments throughout the centuries in the several communities concerned" (Preface p. v). It seems to the reviewer that the author failed in the undertaking here expressed because, though the indexes are usually similar rather than dissimilar, he gave such numerous details about each successive one, that what is "typical or characteristic" is lost in the midst of what is common to many. Indeed about three-quarters of the work, consisting as they do of unsystematically arranged lists of indexes from 1546 to modern times, each with more or less repetitious detail, form infinitely wearisome reading. But to be just to the author in this matter it must be stated that he expressly intended these books for reference rather than for reading. He has therefore arranged "the material according to the cyclopaedia method, under certain main headings with sub-headings for the special divisions of each subject. Such an arrangement involves, of necessity, some repetition" (Preface, p. vii). One can satisfy himself

how much repetition the "cyclopaedia method" involves in this instance by reading the first two chapters at one sitting.

The author's intention being to produce a reference work, he made an egregious error in so generally omitting citations of firsthand sources. Index after index is mentioned without reference to source of any sort. a procedure certainly not tolerable in a book for reference purposes. And the frequency of allusions to Reusch. Mendham, and others leaves room for wonder. Not that the author has done merely expert compilation; he has evidently consulted a portion of the original materials for the subject: that he has not always done so is indicated by his close adhesion to secondary works, and by occasional source-citations which are taken bodily from some secondary work. The result of this method is a rather soulless production, one which has not been lived into by the producer. However, the last quarter of the work is not open to this objection. The author gives us something of himself in the chapter containing examples of condemned literature and the chapter dealing with the indexes of Leo XIII. These are interesting, not solely or principally because they deal with matters of recent times, but because in them one finds the spirit of the author. It is an interesting spirit and one wishes there had been more of it in the earlier portions of the work. Whatever the flaws of the work, as the only recent English book on the subject, it finds a place and will be of more or less use.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Rew Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

EERDMANS, B. D. Alttestamentliche Studien. II, Die Vorgeschichte Israels. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. Pp. 88. M. 2.50.

The six chapters of this study deal with (1) the meaning of the Patriarchal legends; (2) agriculture in the Patriarchal legends; (3) the historical value of the legends; (4) the Egyptian sources of information; (5) the time of the Exodus; (6) the conclusions. The conclusions are all favorable to the historicity of the Patriarchal narratives, but some of the exegetical and historical hypotheses upon which these conclusions rest are anything but certain, or even probable.

ROTHSTEIN, J. W. Juden und Samaritaner. Die grundlegende Scheidung von Judentum und Heidentum. Eine kritische Studie zum Buche Haggai und zur jüdischen Geschichte im ersten nachexilischen Jahrhundert. [Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, herausgegeben von R. Kittel.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. 82. M. 2.

A valuable study made in the light of all recent discoveries concerning this period and approaching the subject from new points of view.

ARTICLES

EERDMANS, B. D. Have the Hebrews Been Nomads? The Expositor, August, 1908. The question is answered in the negative and thereby a firmer basis is maintained for the author's view of early Hebrew history. But Eerdmans' theory that the Kenites were a wandering tribe of smiths is without any foundation; yet it plays a large part in his reconstruction of the history of these times. This article is practically an excerpt from the above-named Studien.

BOEHMER, J. Der Berg "Miscar "(Ps. 42:7). Theologische Studien und Kritiken, July, 1908, pp. 613-22.

A careful review of the various interpretations of this phrase. The author allies himself with those who translate it, "the little hill," and takes it as designating some low height which is contrasted with the mighty Hermon. Many hills in the region of the Upper Jordan meet all the requirements of the passage.

Döller, J. Drei neue aramäische Papyri. Theologische Quartalschrift, 1908, pp. 376-84.

A brief résumé of the contents of these famous documents.

TORGE, P. Die neuesten Strömungen in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Protestantische Monatshejte, July, 1908, pp. 275-90.

An intelligent review of recent movements in Old Testament science, which takes special cognizance of the Pan-Babylonian tendency.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

NIEBERGALL, F. Praktische Auslegung des neuen Testaments. Matthäus. An die Korinther. (*Handbuch zum neuen Testament*, Bd. V, 1, Bogen 9, 10, und 2, Bogen 4, 5.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Matthäus, pp. 121–52; An die Korinther, pp. 49–80. M. 1.20.

The religious meaning and value of the Gospel of Matthew and First Corinthians are set forth in these pages with sympathy and vigor. This feature of Lietzmann's *Handbuch*, while not easy of execution, must prove of great practical value to preachers of the New Testament.

WARD, CALEB T. Gospel Development. Brooklyn: Synoptic Publishing Co., 1907. Pp. 420. \$2.

For the comparison of the synoptic narratives such a carefully worked out arrangement in parallel columns as this is exceedingly helpful, and no small amount of painstaking and useful work has gone into this part of Mr. Ward's book. His theological and historical findings are less valuable, however, appearing somewhat eccentric and visionary.

MÜLLER, G. H. Zur Synopse: Untersuchung über die Arbeitsweise des Lk. und Mt. und ihre Quellen, namentlich die Spruchquelle, im Anschluss an eine Synopse Mk.-Lk.-Mt. [Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und N. Testaments.] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1908. Pp. 60. M. 2.40.

A concise presentation of present day German synoptic theory and method, controlled like all such work by the Two-Document hypothesis.

RESKER, ROBERT R. St. Paul's Illustrations Classified and Explained. [Bible Class Primers.] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908. Imported by Scribners. Pp. 103. 20 cts. net.

Paul's use of figures is always a fruitful subject of study, and this little book, while neither exhaustive nor critical, helps to illuminate some elements in his thought by explaining the figures in which he clothed it.

JACQUIER, E. Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament. Tome Troisieme: Les Actes des Apôtres, les épîtres catholiques. Paris: Lecoffre, 1908. Pp. 346. Fr. 3.50.

This study of the Acts and the Catholic epistles, while intelligent and candid, fails to recognize the full force of some critical difficulties, for example those connected with James and II Peter. The positions are in general conservative, the writer holding to the authenticity and traditional authorship of the Catholic letters, as well as to the Lucan authorship of Acts, which is held to be independent of the letters of Paul and of the writings of Josephus.

ARTICLES

MAYOR, J. B. The Helvidian vs. the Epiphanian Hypothesis. Expositor, August, 1908, pp. 163-82.

Professor Mayor continues his discussion of the Brothers of the Lord, which was begun in the July *Expositor*, with an examination of the testimony of Scripture on the subject. His present paper deals with patristic evidence, particularly that of Epiphanius, whose view that Mary had no other children than Jesus is shown to rest upon apocryphal literature and artificial reasoning.

SHERLOCK, W. The Potter's Field. Ibid., pp. 158-63.

A defense of the historical character of the account of the last acts and the fate of Judas, as given in Acts 1:18, 19.

Moulton, J. H., and Milligan, George. Lexical Notes from the Papyri. VIII. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-92.

These new studies in New Testament words, extending from $d\pi o\delta\epsilon i\kappa\nu\nu\mu$ to $d\pi o\phi\epsilon\rho\omega$, present the new material afforded by the papyri and inscriptions, and while somewhat too technical for the general reader should be useful for thoroughgoing lexical work on the New Testament. $d\pi o\delta i\delta\omega\mu$, $d\pi o\sigma\tau d\sigma\iota\sigma\nu$, and $d\pi b\sigma\tau o\lambda\sigma$ s are the words most fully illustrated.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

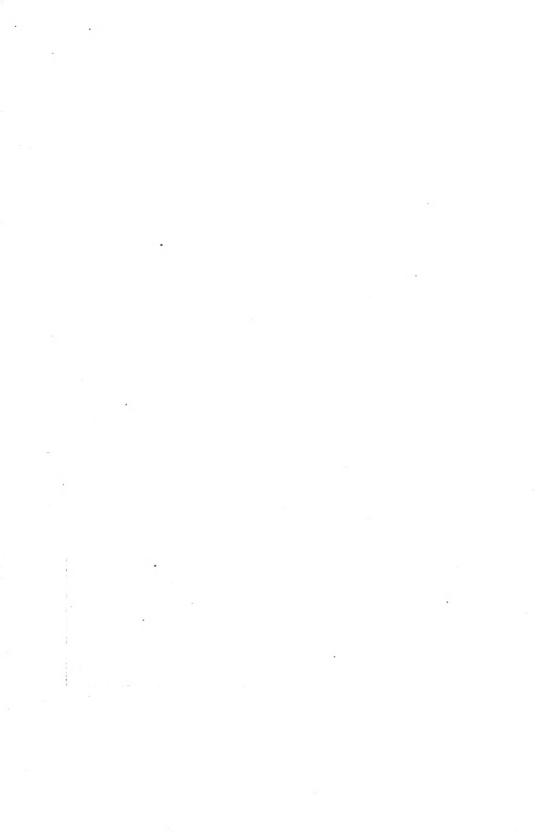
STRACK, H. L. Einleitung in den Talmud. Vierte, neubearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. viii+182. M. 3.20.

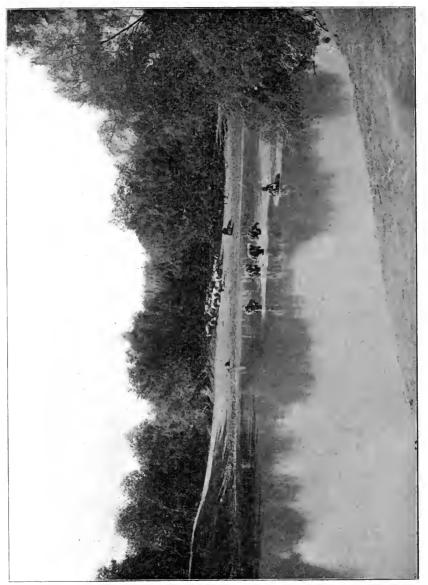
This standard Introduction to the Talmud has now reached its fourth edition. It is an indispensable handbook of ready reference for all students of Talmudic literature.

ARTICLES

Breasted, J. H. Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Oct., 1908, pp. 1-110.

This is the story of Professor Breasted's work in Nubia during the season of 1906–7. The report is full of interest, accompanied by excellent illustrations, and replete with information concerning both ancient and modern Egypt. Its most important feature is the account of Professor Breasted's discovery of a temple of Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV) in Nubia, the first monuments of the great heretic to be discovered in Nubia.





SHEPHERDS FORDING THE JORDAN

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Editorial

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS AND THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY

A REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN IMMORTALITY

We are not without indications of a reviving interest in immortality. The inviting mysteries of psychic research and the real but unmeasured spiritual potency of man, together with certain extreme reactions from materialism, are serving to arrest, in part, the crass and dominant practicality of recent times. In view of this incipient revival of an interest which has commanded the reverent consideration of thinkers, ancient and modern, we turn with no little expectation to the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. "The relation between the resurrection of Jesus and the belief in immortality" is discussed from divergent points of view, in the October number of *The American Journal of Theology*, by Professor Fenn of Harvard Divinity School and President Mackenzie of Hartford Theological Seminary.

VARIANT VIEWS OF RESURRECTION AND IMMORTALITY

Dr. Fenn analyzes the Christian views of immortality and also of the resurrection for the purpose of showing the interplay of the two distinct ideas of spiritual immortality and the reanimation of the body. He finds practically three types of Christian belief in immortality: first, the idea of spiritual and personal continuance in life apart from the disintegration of the body; second, the view that bodyless consciousness is impossible and that any future life depends upon the reanimation of the body; and, third (a combination of the first and second), the belief in independent psychical continuance plus the assurance of a suitable bodily outfit related somehow to that of the present. Two views of the resurrection of Jesus are pointed out: first, that of reanimation and transformation of his body; and second,

that of his spiritual survival and influence upon the minds of the apostles. It is shown that the bodily resurrection of Jesus cannot prove the immortality of the soul but may, nevertheless, constitute a possibility of immortality by means of such a resurrection. But this significance for believers or for all men is considered to depend logically upon the similarity of Jesus to other men and is weakened in the degree in which he is considered unique as the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity. In fact, for the influence of any view of his resurrection upon any conception of immortality "his experience becomes predictive only upon the denial of his uniqueness." The doctrine of spiritual resurrection is held to strengthen belief in spiritual immortality and to militate against the necessity of bodily reanimation.

Professor Fenn shows that immortality in the historical rise of the belief was independent of the resurrection, while he indicates at the same time how the resurrection of Jesus filled the dreary outlook of the ancients with a positive quality of hope. But as a logical proof of immortality the traditional view of the resurrection is considered as practically valueless.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ARGUMENT INADEQUATE

On the other hand President Mackenzie, while also recognizing the historic priority and wide prevalence of immortality, emphasizes the illumination and vital power which the resurrection of Jesus imparted, and he contends further that disbelief in his resurrection as a historical certainty would hopelessly maim philosophical argument for the future life and would paralyze, as well, adequate incentives to right living in the present. However, upon ethical, historical, and theistic grounds he presents in a strong way the demand for immortality, but claims that all such speculation was of no value for the multitude and possessed no vital power until the "vision of the risen Christ flung its light over all other views of God and salvation."

The uniqueness of Jesus is advocated to the point of breaking for others the significance of his resurrection, while no successful attempt is made, after the Pauline fashion, to constitute his resurrection the proof of his claims and of his consequent power to bestow a like gift upon believers. The accepted view of the resurrection is that of endowment with a physical body constituted superior to physical

laws, a magical instrument for the soul, the transformation of the earthly body into the heavenly by the direct action of God. Faith in the resurrection is made requisite for salvation, and the doctrine is held to be central not only in confirmation of immortality but for the whole structure of the Christian faith.

RISE OF THE BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS

These two important articles give rise to certain reflections which. in the nature of the case, can only approach but not reach fixed conclusions. Belief in immortality may have causal relation to belief in the bodily resurrection of Jesus in two ways. First, if the Greek idea of spiritual immortality had already become prevalent in later Hebrew thought then it is possible that this larger belief in immortality constituted the philosophic basis upon which the unique exhibition of life after death was made possible in the case of Jesus. Or, on the contrary, the very lack of belief in spiritual immortality may have necessitated the idea of bodily resurrection to take its place in order to secure participation in the earthly messianic reign with its rewards and penalties. This latter alternative is the more likely for Judaistic and early Christian thinking, if indeed the Greek conception of immortality did not prevail in the synagogue until after the time of Maimonides. So that the absence of belief in spiritual immortality is seen to favor belief in bodily resurrection and hence in the resurrection of Tesus.

Conversely, belief in the bodily resurrection of Jesus, in so far as it has been the product of religious provincialism and an attempt to make permanent the earthly stage of the soul process, is unfavorable to the more speculative type of spiritual immortality, for it assumes the exhaustion of divine possibilities in the material conditions and organisms of this present world and predicates that fulness of life is impossible apart from these or similar organisms. It follows that the resurrection may be considered as a tether upon immortality serving to keep it from losing its way and fading out in the great unknown spaces. Very naturally, speculative minds will not feel the full value of this restraint and may even resent it; while, at the same time, the majority of Christians will continue to find satisfaction in that event which for them holds the immortal hope more nearly within the necessary limits of human experience past and present.

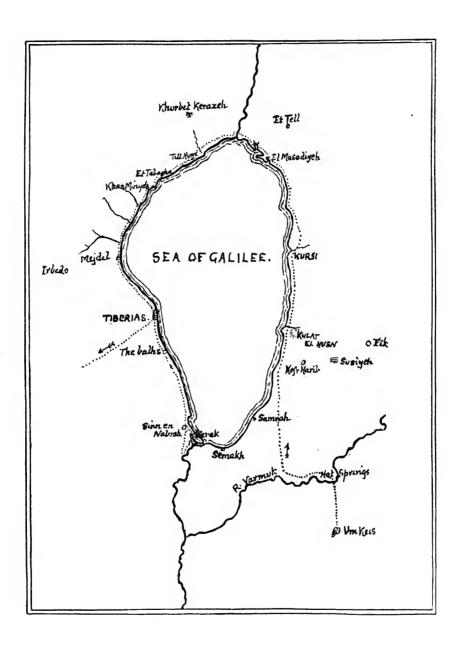
THE UPPER JORDAN VALLEY

DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN Jerusalem, Syria

The Talmud, as has been mentioned, divides Galilee into the "Upper" the "Lower," and the "Valley." This last section, comprising the Upper Jordan Valley and the two lakes, is a district of great importance to Galilee though by no means always included politically within it. It was always a valuable frontier to the mountain region and when belonging to the mountaineers must, with its abundant water supplies and rich verdure, have been a cherished possession. Much that has been already said about Gennesaret will apply to a large part of the Upper Jordan region. Although it is rightly described as part of Galilee, the upper portion would appear, before the time of Herod, to have been looked upon as a separate district, wild and unsubdued, in the marshes of which robbers found a refuge."

It is the Jordan and its tributaries which give the distinctive character to this region. Two of the sources of the Jordan must be considered as rising outside of Palestine proper. Of these the more northerly source is the picturesque 'Ain Fuwwâr, below Hasbayeh, in which the water bubbles up in a little pool and, descending under the name Nahr Hasbani, turns the Wady el Teim into a paradise of verdure. Below this oasis the river has cut for some miles a deep channel southward through a mass of lava. At the well-known bridge on the road to Banias the stream may be seen running upon a bed of limestone, having in the course of ages cut its bed through the whole thickness of the volcanic rock. The second of the northerly sources of the Iordan is the little Nahr Bareight which drains the fertile Merj 'Ayûn—the "Meadow of Springs"—known to us in the Bible (I Kings 15:20; II Kings 25:29; II Chron. 16:4) as Ijon. water arises in two large fountains and, being much used for irrigation, it is only a small stream that finally descends by a series of

I Josephus, B. J., I, xvi, 5.



cascades past M'utelleh and the great Tell Ābel (Abel-beth-Maacah mentioned with Ijon in the above references), and finally with contributions from streamlets further south, joins the Hasbani about a mile north of where this stream loses itself in the true Jordan.

The most impressive sources of the Jordan are the two southerly ones at Banias and Tell el Kādi respectively. At the former site. 1,080 feet above sea level, the ice-cold water bursts forth a full-fledged river from the vast accumulation produced by the collapse of the roof of a once sacred cave. The water tumbles and rushes amid the ruins of once splendid Caesarea Philippi and waters a corner of Palestine even today, in its neglect, unequaled in its picturesque beauty and its handsome timbered glades. Here was once the shrine of Pan, hence the name Panias. By Cleopatra it was rented to the robber chieftain Zenodorus and in 20 B. C. came into the hands of Herod the Great; by Herod Philip it was named Caesarea Philippi and by Herod Agrippa II, after entertaining here in pleasure and cruel sports the conqueror of his people, it was called in flattery of another Caesar Neronias; all these names are now forgotten locally while the shrine of Pan is by its inhabitants, who cannot pronounce P, today called Banias. "Everywhere," writes Tristram,2 "there is a wild medley of cascades, mulberry trees, fig trees, clashing torrents, festoons of vines, bubbling fountains, reeds and ruins, and the mingled music of birds and waters." The source at Tell ab Kadi (500 feet above sea level) is in many respects a contrast to all this. Here the waters quietly bubble up, in volume much greater than at Banias, from the western end of a great tell. Part unite to form a pool to the west, but the larger volume descends as a quiet millstream past one of the most impressive "groves" in the land. Nowhere can one more strongly realize the mysterious influence of a sacred grove than when standing beneath the vast terebinth and oak which here shadow a sacred moslem tomb. This great tell is probably the site of Dan, for Kady (Arabic) and Dan (Hebrew) both mean "judge;" the name too of the river which here arises, el Leddan, appears to harbor an echo of the ancient name. In the time of Josephus³ the spot was apparently known as Daphne, where was, he says, the temple of the golden calf.

² Land of Israel, p. 586.

The two rivers, the Nahr Banias and the Nahr el Leddan, run southward, independently, for some five or six miles and then join to make one stream.

Besides these four main streams, a great many rivulets burst up from the basalt along the whole northern extremity of the valley. These, together with the numerous irrigation canals, make the center of this district a scene of running waters and flooded fields in which are cultivated quantities of rice, maize (Indian corn), and cotton.

During the past decade or two there has been a marked increase in cultivation here and by means of irrigation canals fruitful areas like those around Zuk el Tahta and el Khalisah have been converted into acres of beautiful gardens. Here and elsewhere there are large clumps of beautiful silver poplars—the growth of which as timber is a profitable industry, as well as orchards of fruit trees. What has been done is but a fraction of what might be accomplished under more careful husbandry. As it is, the larger part of the great fertile plain between the Jordan sources and the Huleh marshes is given over to Bedawin who, besides the crops mentioned, raise quantities of barley, durra (Egyptian maize), and sesame (oil-seed). Recently the plain north of the Huleh has been extensively drained and converted from marsh to pasture land through the artificial lowering of the Jordan bed below the Huleh Lake4 and there are now many hundred acres of more useful land than, say, forty years ago, when "Rob Roy" MacGregor made his famous journey there. A number of little villages are dotted over the plain, and near the northern end, besides many mills, there rises, half hidden in trees, the large mansion which the sheikh of the Fadl tribe has recently built as his residence.

At intervals along the long line of the Western Galilean Mountains copious fountains give rise to streams for further irrigation of the plain. Near these spots are to be found at various seasons the encampments of the Ghawārineh Bedawin with their flocks of buffaloes, cattle, and goats. Never were creatures more adapted to their environment than these buffaloes who on hot days lie almost entirely submerged in the cool running waters or the marshy pools, in marked contrast to their cousins, the cows, who stand in the broiling

⁴ This work has been done by the managers of the Jiflik—the sultan's private property.

sunshine but knee-deep in the cool waters. These Arabs make great quantities of mats out of the papyrus reeds from the neighboring swamp where flourishes the greatest solid mass of papyrus in the world. The men gather the reeds and split them into flat bands which the women and girls weave on very primitive looms. Of these mats the people make their houses and they dispose of great numbers as floor-mats to the fellahîn of the mountains.

Ain el Mellahah is the largest of these springs; its waters rise in a large fish-filled pool and, after working several mills, enter the Huleh as a stream of considerable volume. Towering immediately above this great source is the lofty hill of Harrāweh which, from both its conspicuous position and its extensive ruins, must have been once a place of great importance and is very generally considered to be the site of Hazor.⁵ An ancient highroad skirts the foot of these western hills, running from fountain to fountain, and at several spots along this route may still be seen sacred groves of terebinths where the superstitious come for cure of disease, or deposit, in the guardianship of the "spirit of the grove," brushwood, bundles of papyrus, or plows, well knowing that no one will dare violate the shrine.

Lake Huleh itself is a shallow expanse of water $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by 3 miles wide; its bottom is covered thick with water weeds whose swaying branches lie almost everywhere just below the surface, while at many spots the yellow, and here and there the white, water lily adorn the muddy waters. Fish abound; the catfish and the *musht* are caught in quantities both by the cast net from the shore and from boats by means of the *m'batten*. Among the many birds found here, the beautiful white pelican is particularly conspicuous; when on the wing it is a strikingly noble bird. The shores on the east or west sides of this triangular sheet of water are, except after heavy rain, fairly firm; on the west, rich wheat land⁶ comes close up to the beach though standing some six feet above it. Along the northern edge of the open water there floats a dense mass of papyrus—some 6 miles long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad—supporting in its interstices

⁵ See Josephus, Ant., V, v, 1.

⁶ Rabbi Schwarz says, "this lake is called by the Arabs Bahr Chit, 'wheat sea,' because much wheat is sown in the neighborhood," p. 47. This name I have never heard; it is I think a confusion with the name Ard el Khait.

many smaller plants. The Jordan, which loses itself at the northern extremity of this mass of floating vegetation, reaches the lake along a narrow winding open channel. When rowing here in a clumsy fishing-boat a few months ago I was unable to ascend this channel more than a hundred yards, but "Rob Roy" MacGregor in his slender canoe threaded the narrow passage a distance which he calculates was three miles. Whether the channel is today as it was then—40 years ago—is a question which it needs another adventurous canoeist to decide. My impression is that the present channel very rapidly narrows, then disappears as a single open channel. We did not find the papyrus reeds as high as he described them—15 to 20 feet; the average height, after carefully measuring many specimens, was about 8 to 10 feet. The fishermen are, we learned, accustomed from time to time to burn the reeds to restrain their advancing growth, and this may account for their smaller size.

On the western shore of the Huleh is the Jewish colony of Jessod Hamaalah, generally known as Ezbaid, from the Arabic name of the district. Here may be seen hundreds of beautiful eucalypti growing in their greatest perfection with massive trunks and lofty spreading branches. The colonists are not as prosperous as they deserve to be because of a malignant form of malaria and, that scourge of Africa, blackwater fever, which are both endemic here. There is no doubt that more might be done than has yet been attempted to improve the sanitary condition. The extensive gardens and plantations are today in a condition less flourishing than some years ago when the settlers received more outside assistance. Just south of el Ezbaid is the squalid village of el Teleil, supposed by some to be the Thella mentioned by Josephus⁸ as the eastern boundary of Galilee. Around this place are encamped numbers of pseudo-bedawin, some of whom are descendants of Kurds who settled there a century or more ago. The whole plain west of el Huleh, known as Ard el Kheit, is one of marvelous agricultural richness and in the spring there are miles of waving grain.

Lake Huleh, the Lake Samachonitis of Josephus, has been popularly identified with the Waters of Meron of Josh. 9:5-7. It is an identification which rests on but little probability. The expression "waters" ('2) is an unusual one for any lake-like expanse and there

⁷ See Rob Roy on the Jordan.

⁸ B. J., III, iii, 1.

is no trace of a survival of the name Meron in the immediate neighborhood. An echo of the name does, however, appear to remain in Meron and Marûn er Râs, villages in Upper Galilee. The district of Meron may have been there and the "waters" may have been the name of some springs within that area. The modern name Huleh may with probability be traced back to Ulatha, a name given by Josephus to this very region. It was a division of the country by itself, associated with Panias, which belonged to the freebooter Zenodorus, but later to Herod the great. On the shores of the Huleh (Samachonitis) was a town called Seleucia which was on the border of Agrippa's kingdom. To

The Huleh plain, which is bounded on the west, north, and east by high mountains, is even to the south very definitely limited by a number of low volcanic hills which appear from a distance to convert it into a closed basin. However, the Jordan has, here, as farther north, managed to cut for itself a deep channel through the obstruction. For the first two miles the descent is gradual and the sluggish stream peacefully winds through meadow lands, until it reaches the Jisr Benât Yacob. This mediaeval bridge probably derives its name, "the bridge of the daughters of Jacob," not from any association with the patriarch, but from a connection which it had in crusading times with a nunnery of St. James (who is called in Arabic Yacûb), the tolls on this bridge having been given to the nunnery.11 Just below the bridge where there is a ruin on a low hill known today as Kusr Atra—the remains of the Chateau Neuf of the Crusaders—the river commences its rapid plunge downward. For some six or seven miles the river rages and tumbles in a bed deep cut in the lava until as the Bataihah is approached its waters are diverted to many mill streams and thence the much impoverished main stream makes a quiet passage seaward through low banks of alluvial deposit overhung at many spots by beautiful trees. In the twelve miles of river between the two lakes the total fall is 680 feet,

⁹ Ant., XV, x, 2.

¹⁰ B. J., IV, i, 1. Schumacher would identify Selukîyeh, a place seven miles to the southeast of the lake, with Seleucia, but this is opposed to the statement of Josephus. See "The Jaulan," p. 257.

II See Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1898, p. 29.

an average descent of 57 feet to the mile, but over the central section the rate of fall is very much greater. The Valley of the Jordan in this part is inhabited by a few bedawin who manage to avoid the taxes and escape the justice of the government by crossing to the east side when "wanted" by the governor of Safed, or to the west side when "wanted" by the Damascus authorities.

The Lake of Galilee is characterized by its rich alluvial plains to the north and south, the great prevalence of volcanic rocks near its shores, its own natural riches, and, more than all, by its historic associations. The two great alluvial plains at the northwest and northeast corners of the lake-el Ghuweir and el Bataihah-have already been described. At the southern end the old lacustrine deposits12 present toward the present lake a line of low marly cliffs divided by the Tordan at its exit. On the western cliff, just above the lake, is el Kerak, once the site of the Tarichaea of Josephus; the eastern cliffs are surmounted by the village of es Semakh, a place which has recently sprung into notice through its railway station. There is now a rough wooden pier for the convenience of passengers proceeding to Tiberias. There is a ford at the mouth of the Jordan and, when the water is raised by the spring floods, a ferry; but there must some day be a bridge here connecting Tiberias with the railway station. A little farther down, the shallow river eddies and swirls over the ruins of two ancient bridges. The hill of Kerak is almost an island, a backwater of the river half filling the deep trench which isolates it on the part not abutting on lake or river.

On the northern shore the lava reaches the lake wherever the level land is absent; on the east the cliffs are largely volcanic, overlying the limestone, and on the west the lava—part of the Hattîn outflow—lies all along the summit of the limestone hills. Along the eastern side there is a plain—in places nearly a mile wide—between the mountains and the lakes; to the west the plain is narrower and reaches considerable breadth near Tiberias.

The lake is 13 miles long by 8 miles broad; its water is pure and limpid; storms are rare, but local squalls of considerable violence sometimes occur with extraordinary rapidity. Sailing on the lake

¹² That is, the sedimentary deposits laid down by the great lake which once filled this whole valley.

requires practical experience because of this and because the gusts of wind coming down the valley mouths strike the water in unexpected directions. There is a difference of from two to three feet in the level of the lake in the spring and autumn.¹³ Recently the phenomena known as "seiches," which have been studied with such detail on the Swiss and Scottish lakes, have been observed here.¹⁴ The rises appear to be about three an hour.

It is well known that this lake swarms with fish. In the Roman period there appear to have been many hundreds of fishing boats; today there are not much over a score. The richest fishing grounds are along the north shore from el Meidel at the northwest corner to the northeast corner. The neighborhood of the ingress of the Iordan is a good spot in every season, and in the early spring months fish swarm in the warm waters around et Tabighah. The most valuable fish are various kinds of *musht* (chromidae—allied to wrass); several varieties of carp and barbel (cyprinidae), and the curious catfish (clarias macracanthus) known to the fishermen as barbût. This last, though one of the most tasty of fresh-water fishes, is tarîf (unclean) for the Jews on account of its absence of scales (Lev. 11:10). Fish are occasionally caught with the hook and at times by means of poisoned bait, but for purposes of commerce only by nets. Three kinds of nets are used, the shabakeh or castnet, the m'batten or floating net, and the jarf or dragnet. The first of these is a circular net made in three sizes, the medium one, the most commonly used, having a circumferential spread of forty feet. The edges are weighted with small bars of lead and to the center is fixed a small cord. The fisherman gathers up the net by means of this cord and carefully twists it round his right arm; he then wades into the water cautiously and looks around him; as soon as he sees an indication of fish he skilfully flings forth his net so that it flies out and descends in a level circle upon the water; then, quickly falling, the weighted edges of the net inclose all the fish within them. The fisherman walks up to and over the net, beating it upon the bottom with his feet until the fishes are entangled in its meshes. He then carefully winds

¹³ See the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1905, p. 363.

¹⁴ A limnogram extending over ten hours, taken by the present writer at the Lake of Galilee, was recently exhibited by Professor Chrystal in a lecture at the Royal Institution of Great Britain as a fine example of a seiche.

it up, commencing from the central cord, and, as he does so, carefully detaches the fish whose sharp spines have fixed them in the meshes. The *m'batten* is a net over six hundred feet long made in three layers, two outer ones of coarse mesh and a middle one of fine mesh, and floated by means of corks attached to one long side while lead weights are fixed to the other. The net is laid in a long line parallel to the shore—usually in the evening or night—and the fishermen then row between it and the shore to frighten the fish, which swim precipitately against the net and are entangled in its meshes. When, through the sinking of the corks it is evident that there is a large catch, the net is gathered into the two boats in attendance.

The *jarf*, double the length of the last mentioned, is of fine mesh in a single layer. It is paid out from the beach in an immense semicircle and in position is rapidly dragged in by the fishermen standing on the shore. In this net the fishes—of all sorts mixed together—are inclosed (cf. Matt. 13:47 f.).

The government tax on the fish caught is one-tenth; this tax, like all Turkish taxes, is farmed out. The Ashshûr, or tax farmer, pays down a lump sum and himself collects his share of the fish from the fishermen.¹⁵

Around the shores of the lake are the sites of many famous towns. Near the entrance of the Jordan is et Tell, the site of Bethsaida. On the opposite side of the river, about two miles to the west, is Tell Hum, the ruin of Capernaum. Less than two miles to the north of this is Khurbet Kerâzeh, the site of Chorazin. At the northwest corner of the lake is el Mejdel, now but a squalid village, by tradition the site of Magdala. Hidden in the mountains farther west is Irbid, the ancient Arbela. Between el Mejdel and Tiberias lay Bethmaus, 16 which may have occupied an isolated, ruin-crowned hill at the mouth of Wady abu el Amîs. Modern Tiberias occupies but a small area of the great Roman city which once flourished here. The ancient walls can still be traced, and included within them was the lofty hill to the southwest, then the Acropolis. Founded some five or six years before the ministry of Jesus, on a contaminated site, and populated by Antipas with all the

¹⁵ For a fuller account of "The Fisheries of Galilee" see paper by the present writer in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, January, 1908.

¹⁶ Josephus, Vita, 12.

riff-raff he could induce to go there, it was for years considered by the Jews an unclean city. Subsequently in the whirligig of time it became one of their most sacred cities, the seat of the Sanhedrin, and a great rabbinical school. Later it was a stronghold of militant Latin Christianity against the Saracen. Now it is a poor, squalid, but nevertheless "holy" city of the Jews—the last surviving "town" of this once densely populated lake shore. South of Tiberias, near the present hot baths,



EL MEJDEL, THE PROBABLE SITE OF MAGDALA

was probably the ancient Hammath (Josh. 19:35), and certainly the Emmaus of Josephus.¹⁷ At the southwest corner is a *tell* known as Sinn en Nabra which appears to be the site of Sinnabris; while upon the extensive level hill at the mouth of the Jordan known as el Kerak we must recognize the site of Tarichaea, a city greater than Tiberias itself, which at one time gave its name to the whole lake. Upon the lofty heights just south of the Hieromax (the modern Yarmuk) the great Greek city of Gadara (now the squalid village of McKeis) overlooked the lake and all its surroundings. Nearer the shore and half-way up the eastern

¹⁷ Ant., XVIII, ii, 3; B. J., IV, i, 3.

coast lay Gamala, built upon a strange camel-shaped hill known as Kulât el Husn, a place celebrated for its extraordinary natural strength and the bravery of its inhabitants. Somewhat inland from this hill, between it and the modern village of Fîk (the Aphek of I Kings 20:26), is the shapeless ruin of Susîyeh, the Susitha (NT) of Talmudic writers and therefore the Hippos of Josephus, a Greek city which gave its name (Hippene) to the whole district. Some two miles north of the Kulcat el Husn the hills, which farther south are some distance from the shore, approach within 40 feet of the lake; and here, on the high ground, is the ruined site of Kersa, or, as Schumacher called it, Kurse, which certainly represents the ancient Gerasa, attached to which was the country of the Gerasenes (R. V., Mark 5:1; Luke 8:25), where the incident of the swine occurred. Origen states that a city of this name existed on the shores of the lake and that near it was a precipice down which the swine ran.

The circuit of the lake thus included in New Testament times a considerable variety of elements. There was the great Roman city of Tiberias, pagan and disreputable, yet for a time the capital of the district. On hill tops overlooking the lake were the free Greek cities of Gadara, Hippos, and (apparently) Gerasa, intensely anti-Jewish and hated in turn by the Jews. In the midst of gentile elements rose Tarachaea and Gamala, each destined shortly to be the scene of a bloody tragedy in the Jewish war of independence. Around twothirds of the circumference memory calls back the sound of the clash of arms and discordant cries of the conquerors and the conquered, while in times of peace almost everywhere incense rises to heathen gods. Only upon the quiet, fertile, northern shore in the unfortified Tewish towns, within sight of the "kingdoms of this world and the glory of them," one must ever think of those quiet and beneficent labors of Him who from this one district gathered out a large proportion of those who are immortal as the ambassadors of the Kingdom of Heaven.

¹⁸ B. J., I, iv, 8; and IV, chap. i.

¹⁹ Bereshith Rabbah, chaps. xxxi, xxxvii, etc.

²⁰ B. J., III, iii, I.

²¹ The Jaulan.

²² See art. on "Gerasenes" in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Gerasa is there considered more probable than Gergesa.

²³ In Ev. Joann., 6:24.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

IV. ITS CHIEF IDEAS, PURPOSE, DATE, AUTHORSHIP, PRINCI-PLES OF INTERPRETATION, AND PRESENT-DAY VALUE:

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The chief ideas of the New Testament Apocalypse, as of all apocalypses, are eschatological. They pertain to the consummation of the present age and the grand inauguration of the future age.² Being in despair of this world, which seemed to them irremediably evil, the apocalyptists fixed their attention and their hope upon another world to come. They dreamed of and longed for a re-creation, a new heaven and a new earth in which God would have his way—the present world having unaccountably gone to the bad. This type of thought was characteristically Hebrew-Jewish, as we can see in the Genesis story of the flood.³ Men were conceived as having so sunk themselves in sin as to be irrecoverable and, therefore, a new start had to be made. The later Jewish eschatology in the main

¹ The former articles of this series, "Jewish Apocalyptical Literature," "The Thought, Style, and Method of Apocalyptic," and "The Content, Arrangement, and Sources of Material of the Apocalypse of John," appeared in the *Biblical World* for January, April, and July of this year.

² The New Testament, following the Jewish mode of thought in the first century A. D., conceives of two world-eras—"the present age" (Gal. 1:4; I Tim. 6:17; Heb. 9:26; Matt. 13:39 f.; 28:20; Mark 10:30) and "the future age" (Eph. 2:7; Heb. 6:5; Mark 10:30; cf. Rom. 8:19-22). The former comprises this earthly life of common experience, replete with moral and physical evil; the latter is to be the ideal age, a heavenly order of perfection. This was the form in which "the hope that springs eternal in the human breast" found expression in Jewish literature. The transition from the present age to the future age was expected to be catastrophically effected, the two eras being in themselves static. A developmental theory of the universe, giving rise to a conception of progress from one stage to the other, did not belong to ancient thought, and found not even a foreshadowing in Jewish ideas.

3 Gen. 6:II—9:I7. In 6:II ff., we read: "And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth."

looked for a renovated earth on which the redeemed should live, but extreme apocalyptic regarded the physical world as so contaminated by human sin that the earth itself, as well as the human race in general, must be destroyed. 'And this last is the idea set forth by the Apocalypse of John: "I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away. And I saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God."4

It was easy for the primitive Christians—even for gentile Christians—to take over this Tewish conception, because of the persecution directed against them, first by Jews, later by gentiles. Further, the moral conditions which the Christians saw in the Mediterranean world fell so far short of the gospel standard as to cause pessimistic thought of human possibilities. No hypothesis seemed to them reasonable except the deletion by God in his wrath against sin of the whole evil mass of men, and the world that they had filled with evil. The common Jewish view that the earth could be renovated for the abode of redeemed men did not become established in Christian thought, because it was too mild5 and because Jesus did not teach it. The Christians felt themselves to be living in a world condemned by God for its sin and doomed by him to imminent destruction. The Christian summons was that all who would escape this destruction should bestir themselves and lay hold on salvation through Iesus Christ. This zeal to rescue as many persons as possible in the short time that remained6 characterized the work of Paul and of the gospel missionaries generally.7

The Apocalypse of John has this same strenuous tone and limited point of view. God's intervention in behalf of his suffering children

⁴ Rev. 21:1f.

⁵ Paul discloses his idea in Gal. 1:3 f.: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us out of this present evil world."

⁶ Cf. I Thess. 5:1-10; I Cor. 7:29; Rom. 13:12; Phil. 4:5; Jas. 5:8; I Pet. 4:7; Rev. 1:3; 2:11; 22:10.

⁷ Some would call this primitive Christian notion and impulse fanatical. Certainly the modern motive of missions is a different one. Leaving the future world with God to whom it belongs, our aim is to make men better and happier in the present world, holding as we do the optimistic view that God rules the present world, that his purposes are being realized in it, and that human well-being is attainable here.

is just at hand. The destruction of their enemies—his and theirs is about to take place. The great act of divine judgment, which the Christians did not scruple to think of as divine vengeance,8 was imminent, namely, the total destruction of the present world and the consignment of evil men to everlasting perdition.9 The book gives expression to an intense hatred for the Roman government, because of its persecution and its insistence upon the worship of the emperor. One notes the absence of the gospel virtues of love, forbearance, forgiveness, returning good for evil. Instead there is the passionate denunciation, the call to God for retribution upon their adversaries. There can be no doubt that the trials which the Christians had to endure were severe, that their patience was taxed in the extreme. and that the situation of the church seemed to be critical. But this only explains—it does not justify—their Jewish10 attitude of hatred and desire for revenge. It scarcely suffices to say that these passages, taken up from earlier Jewish apocalyptic, were unassimilated to Christian feeling; for the clamor of the Apocalypse for punishment upon Rome and the hosts of evil is one of the chief ideas of the book itself.

The conception of Christ which we find in the Apocalypse of John corresponds in general to the high Christological doctrine of the closing first century. It has somewhat in common with the conception of Christ that appears in the Gospel and First Epistle of John. Jesus Christ is the risen, exalted Messiah, now sharing the heavenly throne with God; and he it is who must complete the work already begun, accomplishing the final victory over all the adversaries of God and the saints.¹¹

The ethical aspect of Christianity is almost submerged under the eschatological, in this book. It is worth while to observe the per-

⁸ Rev. 6:10; 16:5 f.; 18:5 f.; cf. Luke 18:7 f.; 21:22; II Thess. 1:5-10; Rom. 12:10; Heb. 10:30 f.

⁹ Rev. 14:9-11, 19 f.; 19:19-21; 20:7-10; 21:8; 22:15.

¹⁰ Rev. 18:6. Krüger, History of Early Christian Literature, says (p. 35): "More than any other book in the New Testament, the Apocalypse of John shows a Jewish cast. The domain of Jewish apocalyptical thought was real to its author, and the evidences of a Christian spirit and a Christian temper, which are scattered like pearls throughout the whole Apocalypse, contrast strangely with the visions of an extravagant fancy, breathing hate and vengeance, which form the substratum of the book."

¹¹ Rev. 1:13-18; 3:21; 5:5, 9, 12; 7:14; 19:6-10; 22:1, 3.

spective of these two elements here, as compared with the perspective of them in the synoptic gospels, or even in the epistles of Paul. In the letters to the seven churches (chaps. 2, 3) there are some ethical passages: patience (2:3, 19) and repentance are enjoined (2:5, 16; 3:3, 19), also steadfastness in persecution (2:9 f., 13, 25; 3:8, 11), the avoidance of idol-meat and fornication (2:14, 20), love, faith, and ministry (2:19), watchfulness and faithfulness (3:2f., 17–19). But all these injunctions are specifically directed to the preservation of those already Christians at the impending judgment, rather than to the general upbuilding of righteousness or to the conversion of further individuals. They have small similarity with the Sermon on the Mount or the twelfth chapter of Romans.

In fact; the one great idea of the Apocalypse of John is the vindication, victory, and glory of the saints that is just at hand. The destruction of sinners and the re-creation of the earth are necessarily The saints, though not few in number, 12 are but a handful compared with the wicked, "the number of whom is as the sand of the sea" (20:8). The author does not seem to be troubled that the mass of mankind is doomed to destruction; his sympathy for them is not aroused; he regards them as abundantly meriting their fate of eternal torment (20:10). It is in accordance with God's will, and is enough, that the saints be saved. In many beautiful passages this triumph of the saints is sung. These passages, indeed, constitute the choicest portions of the book.¹³ But while the author believes and affirms that the victory and glorification of the Christians are certain to come, God has not yet given them. So, along with the rapture of joy, there is a strain of anxiety and appeal. The soul cry of the Apocalyptist is: "How long, O Master, the holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" (6:10).

The eschatological programme which the book proposes is one of the most definite and elaborate of all Jewish apocalyptic. It has of course specific Christian modifications, due to the idea that Jesus

¹² According to Rev. 5:11, they are "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;" in 7:9, "a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues" (cf. 5:9; 19:6); in 14:1, 3, "a hundred and forty and four thousand" (cf. 7:4-8).

¹³ Rev. 2:7, 10; 3:5, 12, 21; 7:16 f.; 11:15; 15:2-4; 19:6-9; chaps. 21, 22.

had already come as Messiah, but would come again to complete his messianic work. The programme runs thus:

- 1. The great convulsions in physical nature and calamities among men, presaging the end. Rev. 6:4, 8, 12-17; chap. 9; 11:13, 18.
- 2. The casting down of Satan from heaven and his onslaught upon the saints. 12:7-17.
- 3. The last persecution of the Christians by the Roman government, with the requirement of emperor-worship. Chap. 13.
 - 4. Angelic proclamation of the impending judgment. Chap. 14.
- 5. The pouring out of God's extreme wrath upon the ungodly. Chaps. 15, 16.
- 6. The conquest and overthrow of Rome by the heavenly Christ, who marches forth to victory. Chaps. 18, 19.
- 7. Satan bound and cast into the abyss for a thousand years. 20:1-3.
- 8. First resurrection—that of the Christian martyrs, to live and reign with Christ a thousand years. 20:4–6.
 - 9. Satan's release and final assault upon men. 20:7-10.
- 10. The ultimate destruction of Satan in the lake of fire and brimstone. 20:10.
 - 11. Second (general) resurrection of all to judgment. 20:12, 13.
- 12. The final judgment, and the destruction of the wicked. 20:11-15.
- 13. The new heaven, the new earth, and the new Jerusalem. Chaps. 21, 22.

It was surely the expectation of the author, as it would also be of his readers, that these events were to take place quite as described. The strength of this kind of hope lay in the concreteness and literalness of its ideas. The primitive Christian eschatology, mistaken as it was concerning the time and manner of Christ's return, and concerning other fundamental aspects of the future, served nevertheless a very useful purpose. The mind could grasp and get help from so definite a hope, when a vague and undescribed future would have seemed uninspiring.

The purpose of the Apocalypse of John was just to furnish inspiration, steadfastness, and zeal to discouraged and wavering Christians. The persecution directed by Rome against them, which toward the close of the first century spread widely and became increasingly severe, was distressing and disheartening. The faint-hearted were in danger of loss of faith, the uncertain were inclined to relapse. It required great faith, stout courage, and earnest devotion to remain steadfast in the Gospel through a period of such trial. Many had suffered martyrdom and more were about to perish in a similar way for their adherence to Christianity. Multitudes had passed through "the great tribulation" to their heavenly home. Those Christians who still remained upon the earth, upon whom the persecution still fell, needed the assurance and encouragement which this book could give. It was the duty of the leaders of the Christian cause to keep their followers true to the faith and life of the Gospel.

The Apocalypse of John rendered an essential and an extraordinary service in just this way. ¹⁶ The eschatological form of thought and the apocalyptical style were very effective, and the preservation of the book shows the continuous esteem in which it was held. The present distaste for this type of literature must not be allowed to obscure the high appreciation and influence of it in primitive Christian circles. Jesus, Paul, John, and the first Christians generally, thought in the eschatological form, used eschatological language, and made the eschatological appeal.

The book is addressed to and intended for readers who are already Christians. It has no direct evangelizing aim. While sinners might find in it warning against the impending destruction, and might be attracted by the glory depicted of the saints, thereby being led into the Christian faith, it is not with possible converts but with feeble and wavering Christians that the book is specifically concerned.

The persons addressed were Asian¹⁷ Christians. This is shown by the letters to the seven churches in chaps. 2 and 3, for these

¹⁴ Rev. 6:9-11; 20:4-6. 15 Rev. 7:9-17, especially vs. 14.

r6 Beyschlag called the book "the epic of the Christian hope." Farrar called it "a rallying cry to Christian warriors." The former is the better phrase. The book does not summon the Christians to any resistance against the persecutiors or the persecution. Nothing is proposed for them to do except to endure in faith and patience until God should effect their deliverance.

¹⁷ By "Asian" in this connection one means the residents in the Roman province of Asia, the district which we now designate as western Asia Minor. Ephesus was its capital and center.

churches are specifically named by the cities with which they were connected—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea.¹⁸ This internal evidence is supported by the early church tradition, which attests that the work was written at Ephesus by the apostle John. This is therefore the accepted hypothesis as to its place of composition and its destination. The western portion of Asia Minor was one of the chief areas of Roman persecution of the Christians around 100 A. D. A special effort was made to suppress the movement here. A remarkable monument of this campaign of persecution is preserved to us in the letter of Pliny, governor of Bithynia and Pontus, to the emperor Trajan and the latter's reply, written about 112 A. D.¹⁹

The date at which the Apocalypse of John was written may be confidently stated as 90–100 A. D.²⁰ This is at present one of the surest results of historical and literary criticism. We have had an interesting fluctuation of opinion on this point within the last generation. Thirty years ago the New Testament Apocalypse was assigned to the period 68–70 A. D., nearly all scholars concurring in this judgment.²¹ Since then, as a result of more thorough investigation and consideration, the common opinion has returned to the traditional date, the closing years of Domitian's reign (81–96 A. D.).²² The earlier date was assumed for the composition of the book on the ground of chap. 13, which was certainly given its present form at the end of Nero's reign (54–68 A. D.). The mystical number 666 (Rev. 13:18) is probably intended here to designate Nero.²³ If, then, all of the

¹⁸ Rev. 1:11; 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14.

¹⁹ For the Latin text and English translation see Gwatkin, Selections from Early Christian Writers, pp. 24-29.

²⁰ So Weizsäcker, H. J. Holtzmann, Harnack, Jülicher, Bousset, Zahn, Reinach, Godet, Milligan, Sanday, Ramsay, McGiffert, Bacon, Porter, and many other scholars.

^{2&}lt;sup>x</sup> So Baur, Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Ewald, Lightfoot, Westcott, Salmon, Bovon, Beyschlag, et al.

²² The tradition is handed down to us by Irenaeus (Against Heresies, V, 30, 3, written ca. 180 A.D.): "The vision of the Apocalypse was seen no very long time since, but almost in our own days, toward the end of Domitian's reign."

²³ Chap. 13 may have been first written by a Jew, of Palestine, against the emperor Caligula for his effort to enforce the worship of himself with divine honors. See especially Bousset, Meyer Kommentar über die Offenbarung Johannis, 1896 (19062), in Loc.: Barton, in Amer. Journal of Theology, Vol. II (1898), p. 797.

material contained in the book was written at one time, this definite date of one portion would fix the date of the entire composition.

The new element in the problem has been the discovery that the material brought together in the Apocalypse of John came originally from various times and situations, and these earlier indications of date continue in the several portions. Chap. 13 therefore still shows its previous reference to Nero's reign, but does not exclude the possibility that it found its way into this book at a later time. And when we turn to chap. 17 we find ourselves brought down to the reign of Domitian.²⁴ While much remains to be learned concerning the earlier history of the materials of which this book is composed, it seems likely further study will confirm the general conclusion that the sources lie before us in strata, not having been completely assimilated to the date of the book's composition.

A date as late as the last decade of the first century is also made necessary by the characteristics of the persecution which the Apocalypse describes. Extreme persecution of the Christians is in process. Many have been put to death for their faith, and still others are destined to suffer as martyrs.²⁵ Another period of violence is expected, and the Christians are enjoined to be prepared for this, that they may remain steadfast and win the crown of life.²⁶ The particular point of the persecution indicated in the book is the requirement of divine worship to be paid to the Roman Emperor by the Christians.²⁷ This was one of the tests of loyalty to the government enforced by Pliny in Bithynia and Pontus.²⁸ It marks the later

²⁴ The eighth king of 17:11 is probably Domitian. "Harnack regards this as one of the most definite dates in the New Testament literature because it is so evidently added to vs. 10, written under Vespasian (69-79 A. D.), to fit the vision to a later period. It effectually excludes the inference that would naturally be made from vs. 10 that the book as a whole comes from the earlier reign." So Porter, Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers, p. 188 f. This is in answer to Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, Bartlet, Scott, et al., who argue for a date within the reign of Vespasian for the publication of the book.

²⁵ Rev. 6:9-11; 7:14; 20:4-6. The Martyr Antipas, of Pergamum, is individually mentioned, 2:13.

²⁶ Rev. 2:10 f.; 3:10; 16:6; 17:6; 18:24.

²⁷ Rev., chap. 13; 14:9-13; 15:2-4.

²⁸ In his letter to the emperor Trajan (see note 19 above), Pliny says: "As for those who said they neither were nor ever had been Christians, I thought it right to

stage of Roman persecution which set in about the beginning of the second century, when the policy of suppression became extended, deliberate and determined, in contrast to the spasmodic and local persecution in 64 A. D. under Nero.

The question as to who was the author of the Apocalypse is perplexing. He is named John in the book itself: "I John your brother and partaker with you in the tribulation" (1:9; cf. 1:1, 4); "I John am he that heard and saw these things" (22:8). He is not called an apostle, and seems to exclude himself from the apostles (18:20; 21:14), 29 saying of himself: "I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren the prophets" (22:9; cf. 1:1). There are three possibilities: (1) that the author John is John the Apostle, who however does not specifically state this; (2) that the name is used pseudepigraphically, the reader being intended to understand that the author is the apostle John, the actual author having concealed himself; (3) that some other John, not the apostle, and perhaps not determinable, was the author.

In favor of the first view, that John the Apostle wrote the book, is the early and strong church tradition to that effect, beginning with Justin Martyr (155 A. D.) and Irenaeus (180 A. D.). Also, the literary and theological kinship of the Apocalypse with the Gospel and Epistles of John, if they are the work of the apostle. Also, the temperament of this author as compared with the apostle John in the synoptic gospels, whom Jesus named a "son of thunder," who demanded of Jesus a place of prominence in his earthly messianic kingdom, and who wished to call down fire from heaven upon the inhospitable Samaritans.³⁰

Against this view it is urged that the church tradition, though predominantly for the apostolic authorship, is by no means exclusively in this direction, as there is testimony that the apostle John died a martyr in Palestine, without ever having worked in Asia.³¹ Also,

let them go, since they recited a prayer to the gods at my dictation, made supplication with incense and wine to your statue, which I had ordered to be brought into court for the purpose together with the images of the gods," etc.

²⁹ But Bacon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 237 f., thinks these verses are not prejudicial to the apostolic authorship, which he accepts.

³⁰ Mark 3:17; 10:35-45; Luke 9:51-55.

³¹ See especially Bousset, Meyer Kommentar, usw., pp. 33-51.

the tradition about the Ephesian residence of the apostle John is in confusion because of the reference to an elder or presbyter John.³² As regards the common authorship with the gospel and epistles, it is urged that there is no means as yet of settling the question who wrote them; further, that there is so much difference between the Apocalypse and these other books as to make it impossible that they could have been by the same author.³³ As to the third point, it is urged that the characterization by temperament is too general to identify, as numerous persons of such temperament presumably existed in the first century.

Concerning the hypothesis that the Apocalypse is only pseudepigraphically ascribed to the apostle John, it may be argued in its favor that the apocalyptical books were generally pseudepigraphical. This is true of Jewish apocalyptical writings, and also of some Christian apocalyptical writings such as the Apocalypse of Peter, of which a fragment was recently found.³⁴ It would not be surprising if a Christian apocalypse had been written in the name of the apostle John, the cue having been taken from the synoptic characterization of him. The chief objection to this view is that a pseudepigraphical

32 Bousset, in Encyclopedia Biblica, art. "Apocalypse," §15, says: "The assumption that there were two Johns in Asia Minor—the apostle and the presbyter—finds only slender support in ancient tradition. Whatever the interpretation we may put on the important testimony of Papias preserved by Eusebius (H. E., iii, 39, 1 fl.), it is at least certain that Papias speaks not of two Johns in Asia Minor—the apostle and the presbyter—but of one John, whom we are to look for as a near neighbor of Papias in space and time. Of a second John the second century and the first half of the third century know nothing; he is unknown to Irenaeus and to those who disputed the claims of the Fourth Gospel, to the Alogi and to Caius, to Tertullian, to Clement, and to Origen."

33 Porter, op. cit., p. 184, says: "Our author is certainly not the writer of the Fourth Gospel." Similarly Jülicher, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 280 (6th Ger. ed., p. 241): "It is one of the most assured results of New Testament criticism that not another line from the hand of the writer of the Apocalypse has been preserved to us in the New Testament, least of all in the Gospel of John; for if the Apocalypse is the most Jewish book of the New Testament, the Fourth Gospel is certainly the most anti-Jewish."

34 See the Greek text in Preuschen, Antilegomena. This fragment "contains the end of a prophecy of Jesus about the last times, and a vision of the state of the blessed, followed by a much longer description of the torments of various classes of sinners." The writing probably belongs to the first half of the second century A. D.

writer would probably have made it abundantly clear that the apostle John was meant—a thing which our book does not accomplish. Besides, there is really no reason why the apostle John might not himself have composed such a work.

The third hypothesis, that some John of Asia, not the apostle, was the author of the New Testament Apocalypse, is preferred by an increasing number of scholars. Bousset has given a strong argument for this view. He holds that the apostle John never lived in Asia, but that there was an Asian John of prominence, who bore the title "elder" (="presbyter"). This John was the author of the Apocalypse of John, later church tradition coming to identify him mistakenly with the apostle John. A similar argument is pressed by Harnack for a non-apostolic Asian authorship of the Gospel of John. With those who decline the apostolic authorship of the Johannine writings it is not customary to assign the Apocalypse and the Gospel to the same unknown author, because of the great differences between the two books.

A decision regarding the authorship seems therefore for the present impossible, and even a tentative judgment one may hesitate to form. The whole Johannine problem is complex and difficult, even after a hundred years of discussion. It is probably not too much to hope that in time there will come to be a consensus of scholarly opinion, but there is no subject on which scholarly opinion is now more diverse.

Meanwhile, the Apocalypse of John is the greatest apocalyptical book ever written, and is one of the chief monuments of first century Christianity.

How is this striking and peculiar book to be interpreted? A remarkable amount of exegetical effort and ingenuity have been expended upon the book. To discern the future is the impulse of many minds, and the absorbing pursuit of some. This book, like the Book of Daniel, but in still greater degree, has the predictive form and therefore seems in a special way attractive and useful to the forecaster. Probably on no book of Scripture has the interpretation of the centuries been so varied, fantastic, and fruitless. Yet each type of interpretation has had its day, has appealed to a large group, has satisfied a transient and artificial

theological interest.³⁵ We are the heirs of these interpreters, and there are current today several different methods that survive to compete for a little longer with the scientific method that has now reached maturity.

The "chiliastic" view, held and taught by the millenarians, treats the book as literal prediction pertaining to, and to be completely fulfilled at, the future advent of Christ. This is a recurrence to the original eschatological sense of the Apocalypse, accepting as correct the primitive Jewish-Christian hope and awaiting its precise fulfilment. These interpreters have learned nothing from the failure of these mistaken expectations to become realized in the first century, or any subsequent century. They still look forward to a speedy millenarian finish of the present world era.³⁶

The "universal-history" method of interpretation treats the book as a specific collective prediction of the history of the church from the first to the last, until time shall be no more. Therefore some of the predictions of the Apocalypse have been already fulfilled, some are being fulfilled today, and still others are to be fulfilled in the future. It is a task of unfailing interest and occupation for these interpreters

35 Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Methodius made the earliest attempts at the interpretation of the Apocalypse. In the middle of the fourth century Ticonius produced a commentary on the book that consistently carried through a spiritualistic interpretation, resolving the eschatology into figure and symbol of spiritual truth. This method became the commonly accepted one until the time of the Renaissance and Reformation. Joachim of Floris published about 1200 A. D. an exposition of the book that revived its eschatological meaning, and led to the well-known chiliastic interpretation. Nicolaus de Lyra, in 1329 A. D., issued a treatment of the Apocalypse that presented an elaborate "universal-history" interpretation. Luther in 1534 A. D. turned the book to account in an anti-papal polemic. The English commentaries by Napier in 1593 A. D., Brightman in 1609 A. D., Mede in 1627 A. D., and Sir Isaac Newton in 1732, were all of them very far from a sane, historical method. Ludovicus ab Alcazar, in his Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi (Antwerp, 1614 A. D.), laid the foundation of a scientific interpretation of the book, in his effort to get at a historical and psychological comprehension of the material contained in the Apocalypse.

We are all familiar with the eighteenth and nineteenth century types of interpretation, which are still in vogue, and may be read in the various contemporary expositions of the Book of Revelation. A full and valuable survey of the history of the interpretation of the book since the first century is given by Bousset, Meyer Kommentar, usw., pp. 51-141; and very briefly in Encyclopedia Biblica, art. "Apocalypse," §§17-32.

³⁶ Leading representative expounders of this view are Maitland, Todd, et al.

to decide which predictions belong to each of these three classes. The results reached are of course fanciful.³⁷

The "spiritualistic" theory of the book, which was the earliest theory explicitly worked out and which held the field for ten centuries, has been recently revived and is today the prevailing opinion in Germany, England, and America. It has been given currency by a number of able books from excellent scholars of the last generation, who wrote before the scientific interpretation of the book had become established.³⁸ According to this view, the Apocalypse of John presents a general conspectus of the progress and of the governing principles of the church in its entire course of development. The theory makes little of specific prediction in the book; as Dr. Milligan puts it, the Book of Revelation "gives no knowledge of the future that is not given first by our Lord, and then by others of his inspired apostles."

Over against these several theories of the meaning of the book, and setting them all permanently aside as ignoring the first-century relations and characteristics and significance, stands now the "scientific" interpretation of the Apocalypse of John. Technically it is more often called the "preterist" view, i. e., its predictions had a meaning only for their own time; to us they stand only as the vivid, detailed expectations of the imminent future which belonged to the Christian thought of the first century. Our interest in these forecasts is historical, as showing us what primitive Christianity was on its eschatological side; we do not now share these particular and (as they seem to us) peculiar hopes, we do not await or anticipate their fulfilment.

This scientific method of interpreting the Apocalypse has been built up step by step through the last seventy-five years by the ablest and most laborious biblical scholarship.39 It has reached its final

from a similar standpoint are the treatises on the Apocalypse by Ebrard, Godet, Lee, Vaughan, et al.

39 The most valuable contributions have been made by DeWette, Bleek, Ewald, Lücke, Düsterdieck, Reuss, B. Weiss, Weizsäcker, Farrar, and latest of all Bousset, who is today conceded to be the ablest interpreter of the book. His commentary on the Apocalypse (2d ed., 1906) in the Meyer series is the standard work in all countries.

³⁷ This method is set forth in the writings of Bengel, Hengstenberg, Elliott, et al. 38 The several admirable works upon the Apocalypse by the late Dr. William Milligan are the best exponents of this spiritualistic interpretation. Other works

stage in the last fifteen years, when the historical, psychological, and literary processes of investigation have been trained upon it and have triumphed over it. The main lines and methods for its interpretation have certainly become established. Of course much still remains to be done for a complete understanding of all the materials of the book, and for a complete account of the literary history of the contents of the book. But we need no longer be in doubt as to the purpose, general meaning, and characteristics of the Apocalypse of John. What these were, it has been the desire of these four papers to indicate.

The kind of interest that apocalyptic had for both Jews and Christians, and the kind of service which apocalyptic rendered in the New Testament times (175 B. C.-135 A. D.), are things of the past. It is by the use of other thought forms and literary forms that moral and religious effects are now accomplished. The twentieth century does not much care to speculate concerning the end of the world, partly because the end of the world looks to be quite remote, but still more because we have no confidence that we could think out successfully what that end would be. The imaginings of the ancient Jewish mind, adopted by the primitive Christians, as to the time and manner of the consummation of things mundane do not appeal to present-day thinkers. Our cosmology, instead of being static, is developmental.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, the Apocalypse of John will continue for long to have a kind of practical value, as one form in which the Christian belief in the ultimate triumph of truth and righteousness may find expression and exert influence. That evil, disorder, and misery are

4º Clarke, The Use of the Scriptures in Theology, has some trenchant paragraphs on the survival of the primitive Christian eschatology in twentieth-century faith. I quote from one of them, not for acceptance but to provoke thought: "This discredited hope of a soon-returning Christ and a visible kingdom has long been kept alive in perpetual disappointment by the accepted doctrine of the Scriptures. But the sound historical interpretation which is now possible assigns to it no place at all in the gift and revelation of Christ, and therefore our principle requires us to drop it and all that belongs to it out of our Christian theology. Visible advent, simultaneous resurrection, assemblage of all men for judgment, millennial reign of Christ on earth—all is Jewish survival, historically discredited by the work of Christ himself; it is a remainder from pre-Christian life and hope, demonstrated to be non-Christian by the different course of Christian history; wherefore it forms no part of Christian theology" (pp. 107 f).

destined to extinction, and that the good are destined to blessedness and glory, is still a cardinal doctrine of all those who interpret the universe in terms of personality. The Apocalypse is an optimistic book in respect to the welfare of the few.⁴¹ We join in this much optimism. But modern thought is still more optimistic, for we look for the ultimate welfare of humanity in the whole and in a real sense of the world itself, in accordance with the promise that is resident in the universe as we already know it.

^{4r} Destruction awaits the many, and this earth itself, according to the New Testa ment Apocalypse. The question increasingly presses upon us whether a salvation that is achieved only by the few is a kind of salvation that will be acceptable even to them. The sense of human brotherhood, and of the organic unity of human life, makes it difficult to find happiness for one's self when others are without it.

JESUS' PARTING WORDS OF COMFORT TO HIS DISCIPLES

JOHN 14:1-13

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Jesus, taking leave of his disciples, comforts them by making himself and his mission fully known to them.

To this chapter both simple believers and philosophers turn when they are dying; it expresses perhaps more fully than any other in the New Testament all that Christ is to his people and the relation he has formed for them between this world and the world unseen. It owes its power no doubt in great part to the situation in which the words are spoken. The traitor has gone out into the night, and the hostile preparations are being made outside for the last scenes. The disciples are plunged in grief at the removal of their Master which he has announced to them. Some of them will fail, he says; they will all be forsaken. At this point he addressed them, not with directions and laws and a constitution for his church, nor yet with prophecies of far-off things, but with triumphant declarations of the victory he already feels that he has gained over all evil, and loving exhortations to them to regard his victory as being also theirs. have not fully understood all that God has sent them in his Son; now he strives to let them understand it, and to lead them to appropriate the height and breadth and depth of the great work. True, Jesus cannot himself have spoken all that is here put in his mouth; it took two generations of his followers to arrive at so complete a view of his person and of the import of his mission; but the insight which found all this in him was not mistaken.

I. Let not your heart be troubled; believe in God and believe in mel Jesus' own heart was troubled: at the grave of Lazarus, 11:33; when he saw his "hour" was come, 12:27; when he saw the treachery of Judas, 13:21. But now he has left all weakness behind him and is able to comfort others. The trouble spoken of is that of the impend-

ing separation; the first relief thought of for it is the old one of the prophets and psalmists—trust in God, whose power to help and save is infinite. But to that is added trust in Christ himself, now indeed at the point of death, but soon to be beyond death and every ill, in a position in which he can do everything for his loved ones. Their faith in God is now a richer and more tender thing than that of the Old Testament.

- 2. In my Father's house are many mansions (otherwise I would have told you), for I am going to prepare a place for you. Another rendering is, "Otherwise would I have said to you that I am going?" But the words which would thus be quoted cannot be found, and there is no place for them, as the subject of Jesus' departure has just been introduced. What we have given is the best that can be madeof the words as they stand. The idea that Jesus might have told the disciples anything else is scarcely tolerable, and only to be explained from the later standpoint, at which the Christians conclude that if the arrangements in heaven were not what is here stated, Jesus must have said so. What is said is that the object of the journey Tesus is making is to secure the future of his disciples. In his Father's house, he says, there are permanent abodes for many. It is not a place to which one is carried in a vision, to leave it again straightway; it is a place where one can stay and not need nor wish to change. The picture is a very different one from that of the Apocalypse, where there is so much detail of the heavenly region. more is said than faith requires. If the Lord goes away, he goes on the disciples' errand. The "mansions" may be derived from the apostle Paul's conception of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." Paul no doubt meant by this the spiritual body in which the soul is to continue its existence, but the idea of mansions in heaven might be built on his words.
- 3. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and take you to myself, that where I am, you may be also. The great interest of the Christian is secured in these words, that he should not be separated from the Lord. As Gambold says:

For this I do find, We two are so joined, He'll not be in glory And leave me behind. The parting Jesus has announced is not final; it is "auf wiedersehen." But when is the coming of the Lord, here spoken of, to take place? The earliest Christians thought of the Parousia, the second coming when Christ would descend with armies of angels to enter on his reign. That can scarcely be meant here. When this book was written many Christians had fallen asleep, and found—according to the belief of this gospel—that the believer in Christ though he died yet lived and found in Christ the resurrection and the life. The Fourth Gospel speaks very little of the Parousia, and the coming of Christ to his own here must be at death. When he dies the believer departs to be with the Lord; in death Jesus comes to take him to himself.

- 4. And whither I go you know the way. This reading is best supported. It also gives the best sense, as Jesus has just said whither he is going, and does not need to recur to that. What he may be expected to add is how the disciples may come where he is. His coming for them at death can scarcely take place if they are not in the "way," the right way, to that union with him. As the early Methodists spoke of the "method," so the Christians in the Acts of the Apostles speak of the "way" (9:2; 24:22, etc.). In Gnosticism again, as in Egyptian and other religions, there was much speculation as to the way the soul must take to reach the place of bliss, the ways and formulae which she must use. How to find the way might be a difficult matter. Yet Jesus asserts that his disciples know the way to the place where he is going. Vss. 6 and 7 show what he means.
- 5. Thomas says to him, Lord we know not whither thou goest; how do we know the way? A disciple might have known better than the unbelieving Jews (7:34-36) what the going away of Jesus meant. But even the disciples might not take in all at once all the new thoughts Christianity brought concerning the opening up of the heavenly world. One who dies, however great a being he was, went out of sight, out of reach; where was he, how could one get to him? To the average mind in the ancient world it was far from clear. Thomas uses the word "way" in a more literal sense than Jesus, after the general practice of those who put questions to Jesus in this gospel; but his question is not unnatural.

6. Jesus saith to him, I am the way and the truth and the life: no one cometh to the Father but by me. We expect some directions how the way is to be found and its difficulties overcome; but instead of this the plain, short, blunt statement, I am the way. It is to the Father that he is the way, to the abode of peace, the end of religion. As he is the living water to the thirsty, the light of the blind, so to the soul that commits herself to him he is the way that leads to God. United with him, one is assured of the right completion of life's journey, of getting home at last. He is also the truth. In the journey his people make with him there are no fanciful deviations, no blind paths to be retraced; their feet are planted on the central reality of things; they have the inner secret of all life and thought, which cannot disappoint them. He is also the life. Much of human existence falls short of life, one is carried along without really living, without any vigorous advance or sense of satisfaction. But in him there is life, life abundantly (10:10).

We touch here the summit of the teaching of this gospel. The evangelist tells (1:18) what those who understood Jesus saw in him; he tells us here of the sense of victory and certainty they felt him to communicate to them. One who takes Jesus as the way is secure against all sorrows and trials, he is full of an impulse which cannot lead him wrong, he is sure of arriving. Here is the consummation of religion, the only one, by which one comes to the Father and is sure of the eternal mansions. What all the sacrifice, the mysteries, the philosophies, promised but could only partly give, what the men of the Old Testament saw afar off, is to the Christian present and certain.

7. If you had known me, you would have known my Father also; now you know him and have seen him. Does this imply that the disciples have not known Jesus nor his Father? The harshness is avoided by another reading: If you have known me, you will know my Father also. But the reading adopted reflects the fact that the knowledge grew which the disciples had of their Master and at a certain time was found to yield a new knowledge of God also. The Jews (8:19), though they had Jesus before their eyes, made no such advance; the disciples became convinced that in seeing Jesus they saw God; he was to them the way to the Father. It was about the

time of the death of Jesus that the knowledge began to dawn upon them.

- 8. Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father and it sufficeth us. The intervention leads like that of vs. 5, to a more explicit statement, and can also be taken in a material sense, as if a palpable theophany were asked for. But on the other hand it may express the general longing of mankind, in that and every age, for some undeniable evidence of the presence of God. Philip in any case had not jet risen to the great truth set forth on every page of this gospel, that in Jesus God has appeared. Not at once did the disciples rise to it.
- 9. Jesus says to him, Have I been so long time with you, and hast thou not known me, Philip? He who has seen me has seen the Father: how dost thou say, Show us the Father? The seeing God here spoken of is not physical; seeing God in that sense is not for man (1:18); it comes about by faith, as the next verse explains—faith attaching itself first to Jesus and then finding that through him a higher object still is opening to its gaze. When this standpoint is attained the earlier reasonings are seen to be vain; one no longer demands assurance about God which has already come.
- 10. Believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in me? The words I say I do not speak from myself; it is the Father abiding in me that is doing his work. This is how the conviction grows up that seeing Jesus is seeing God. Jesus who said there was none good but God, could not speak in this way; but the disciples looking back on what they found in him, could conclude that he brought knowledge of God which no one else had, and that he had been entirely true to the knowledge he had of God. He was in the Father, they mi ht say; he was always conscious of God's presence with him and did not desire, as men do, to escape from God; to be with God was what he cared for and clung to, more than anything else. And on the other hand, the Father was in him, a greater than he acted in him and led him forward. In Matt. 11:27 Jesus himself speaks of the intimate sympathy and knowledge which existed between him and the Father. The disciples who saw (1:14) the grace and truth of which he was full, as an only begotten of the Father, naturally drew further conclusions as to his relation to God. Even apart

from a doctrine of Christ's essential divinity they might be led to this.

The remaining part of the verse describes the practical effect of the relation which the disciples can discern between Jesus and the Father. "The words which I speak" is a general description of the activity of Jesus, which consists in bearing witness (8:11), teaching (6:59; 7:14), curing diseases and raising the dead by his word, speaking the word by which men are to live and be free. In all this he is doing as his Father does (5:17, 20). There is nothing self-willed in his activity; it is all the outcome of a higher power than his, as the Father who dwells in him performs his works through the Son, his willing instrument. Those, therefore, who have seen and appreciated Jesus aright feel themselves addressed directly by God, witnesses of God's operations, recipients of the supreme truth.

- else believe me on account of the works themselves. Nicodemus believed on account of the works Jesus did (3:2). That is not the highest kind of faith, but it may lead to it (10:38). If one is in the position of the Jews who require a sign (I Cor. 1:22) and cannot yet see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, one may nevertheless be carried along by the works Christ did to believe in the power of the new age, and attach oneself to him who brought it. This no doubt represents the position of many Christians of the first age; and the Fourth Gospel tolerates and even welcomes them.
- 12. Verily, verily, I say to you, He who believes in me, the works which I do he shall do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to the Father. The extraordinary success of the church, going out into all the world, casting down the altars of idols, gathering Jew and gentile together in one family (Holtzmann) is claimed as a continuation of what Jesus did on earth, of the works the Father did through him. They are done on a larger scale, in a wider theater, they are growing and to grow no one can tell how far. It is because Jesus has gone to the Father, is freed from the limitations of human life, and can direct things for his followers everywhere with the aid of Almighty power, that all this has come to pass.
 - 13. Whatever you shall ask in my name, I will do it, that the

Father may be glorified in the Son. This completes the sentence. The works God did through Jesus go on in the church and need have no limit, since the Christians can obtain anything they askin Christ's name. This phrase is used in the New Testament with a variety of meanings. To pray in Christ's name might mean to pray as representing Christ, in connection with his cause, or because Christ prompts us to do so. More likely it means to use Christ's name as an instrument, as a means of appeal to God in prayer. In 16:24 we find the disciples told that hitherto they had not asked God for blessings in the name of Christ, but that they are now to do so. In Acts and in Paul prayer in the name of Christ is not the usage (but see Col. 3:17 and later James 5:14). It is God who is addressed in prayer, but according to vs. 12 it is Christ who does for his people what they ask. The result is that God is glorified, as the Son grants the prayers of his people, and they abound in good works (15:8), prevail over every adverse influence, and are more and more united to the Savior and through him to God: God's purposes are realized and the work he did through Christ brought to its consummation.

Thus the first cycle of the Savior's address of comfort to his disciples has revolved. His removal does not injure but enrich them. They are led by it to deeper thoughts of what he was, to a higher view than they could otherwise have had of what he is and of what as they trust and follow him he will accomplish for them.

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT

XI. THE TEACHING OF THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER AND OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

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The First Epistle of Peter is addressed to Christians who are suffering temptation and persecution, and is evidently designed to encourage those thus suffering to endure without surrender of their faith. For this purpose the writer appeals on the one side to the sufferings of Iesus and on the other to the salvation that is vet to be revealed. The wrath of God against sin and the basis of forgiveness are naturally enough but little spoken of. What is said is sufficient to indicate that the writer holds the common doctrine of early Christianity that the manner of life which was common among the gentiles, having been handed down from their fathers, was displeasing to God, and made them objects of his wrath (1:18; 2:1; 3:12; 4:18). He refers also to faith as that through which salvation is obtained (1:5,0) and through this salvation is conceived of as something not yet obtained, but to be received at the revelation of Jesus Christ. it is also clearly set forth that they who having believed now await this revelation of Christ and the accompanying salvation, have already purified their souls in their obedience to the truth (1:20) and are already the people of God (2:10), having been begotten through the word of God (1:23) unto a living hope by the resurrection of Tesus Christ from the dead (1:3).

The single incidental reference to sacrifice is significant as indicating that the writer thinks of the sacrifice of the Levitical system as displaced by the self-devotion of Christians to God, in which they are at the same time priests and offering, not slain but living, an offering which becomes acceptable through Jesus Christ, i. e.,

[&]quot;Ye also as living stones are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (I Pet. 2:5; cf. Rom. 12:1).

apparently through the fact of their spiritual fellowship with and likeness to Jesus Christ (cf. vs. 4, 15).

Of the passages that speak of the sufferings of Jesus none is more clear or important than 2:21-25.

For hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: who his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed. For ye were going astray like sheep; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.

It is worthy of notice, first of all, that there are four expressions in this passages which are taken substantially from Isa., chap. 53, and follow almost literally the Septuagint version: "He did no sin neither was guile found in his mouth;" "Who himself bare our sins;" "By whose stripes ye are healed;" "As sheep were going astray." The use of these expressions, combined with the evidence of 1:112, leaves no room for doubt that the writer regarded the Isaiah passage as predictive and as fulfilled in Jesus. The two passages are complementary, one declaring that the prophets foretold the sufferings of Christ but without naming the passages, and the other applying to Jesus, in respect to his sufferings, the language of Isa., chap. 53, but without expressly saying that the language was predictive. There can be no doubt that the writer included Isa., chap. 53, among the passages which he understood to be definite predictions of the suffering of Jesus. What other passages he included in the same list we do not know.

But it is also clear that our author thought of the death of Jesus as having relation not simply to the men of his own generation but to all the human race, even to men whom he characterizes expressly as not contemporaries of Christ, but as gentiles of another generation, having, therefore, nothing directly to do with the death of Jesus, for he says, "He bore our sins on the tree." "By his stripes ye are healed." The death of Jesus was in fulfilment of the divine

² "Of which salvation the prophets enquired and searched diligently, searching what time or what manner of time the spirit of Christ which was in them did point to when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ."

plan and prophetic announcement, and was of universal significance. He suffered for our sins once for all (3:18).

The purpose of Jesus' sufferings is affirmed to be that we, having died unto sin, might live unto righteousness. This language reminds us strongly of that of Paul in Rom. 6:10, 13: "In that he died, he died unto sin once for all, but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God. Present yourselves unto God, as alive from the dead and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God." How the sufferings of Jesus under sin, wherein he bore our sins in his body on the tree, are to achieve the result that we should die to sin and live to righteousness; on this point the writer is silent, as Paul also is on the similar point in Rom., chap. 3. But it is clear that our writer has in mind a moral reformation or regeneration as the result aimed at in the sufferings of Christ. This is made most clear by the twenty-fifth verse in which he interprets the words, "by whose stripes ye were healed." "For," he adds, ye were going astray like sheep, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." The healing through his stripes is accomplished in their return from their wanderings to God as their shepherd and bishop. That the sufferings of Jesus are looked at from the point of view of their moral effect on men is made further clear from the fact that in them Jesus left us an example that we should follow in his footsteps. The context makes it clear that that in which the writer means to hold up to his readers the example of Tesus for their imitation is his patient suffering, innocently, not for any sin of his own, but for that of others. Thus as in Jesus and in Paul, so also in Peter we find the sufferings of Jesus brought under a general moral law. Vicariousness, the suffering of the innocent for the guilty, this is the law of righteous living. In this Jesus has set us a great example which we should follow. But it is not simply a necessity to which we ought to submit; it has redemptive value. He suffered that we, having died to sins, might live to righteousness, that we who were going astray might return unto the shepherd and bishop of our souls. Such also is to be the effect of like conduct on the part of Jesus' followers. They who speak against you as evil-doers will by your good works, which they behold, glorify God

in the day of visitation (2:12). Ungodly husbands, even if they obey not the word, may without the word be gained by the behavior of their wives (3:1). Wherein ye are spoken against, they will be put to shame who revile your good manner of life in Christ (3:16, cf. vss. 17, 18, with the reference to the sufferings of Christ).

To the thought of this passage, the four others in which the sufferings of Jesus are spoken of add little that is significant for our purpose except emphasis.

In 3:18, having urged his readers to suffer willingly for well-doing, because it is better if the will of God be so to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing, he adds, "Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit."

In 4:1 the author seems to follow the thought of Paul in Rom., chap. 6, more closely than in 2:21-25. Exhorting his readers to have the same mind in them that was in Jesus, he adds, using language which he had just above applied to Jesus, but which he evidently means here shall apply both to Jesus and to all who follow in his steps, "For he that suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin."

In 4:12, 13, he bids his readers not to be surprised at the fiery trial that is coming upon them, but, inasmuch as they are partakers of Christs' sufferings, to rejoice.

In 5:1, the writer refers to himself as a witness of the suffering of Christ, but without entering into the question of their significance. In two passages the writer speaks of the blood of Christ:

Knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers, but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot (even the blood) of Christ (I Pet. 1:18).

The most notable fact about this passage is that the redemption is not from the penalty or punishment of sin, but from the vain manner of life handed down from the fathers. How this is effected by the blood, i.e., the death of Christ, can hardly be doubted in view on the one side of the comparison of Jesus with a lamb without blemish or spot, and on the other of the repeated reference in the epistle to the suffering of Jesus as the suffering of the righteous for the

unrightcous, yet also as a death to sin in which the followers of Jesus become participators. Entering into spiritual fellowship with Jesus in his death, they are delivered from the vain and sinful life they would otherwise live.

In the salutation of the letter the writer addresses his readers as elect unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ (1:2), conveying, no doubt, in the word "sprinkling" an allusion to the sacrifices of the Old Testament, and so, by implication, ascribing to the death of Jesus the atoning value. But into the question how it atones, the passage does not all enter.

It thus appears that the writer of this epistle conceived of the sufferings and death of Jesus as (a) predicted by the prophets, in particular by Isa., chap. 53; (b) as vicarious, the suffering of the righteous for the unrighteous; (c) as having relation not simply to Jesus' contemporaries, but to all men; (d) as having as its purpose the redemption of men from the evil manner of life which their ancestors followed; (e) as falling under a general principle applicable to all and setting an example which his followers should follow and in the following of which they would in their measure achieve results like those which Jesus himself achieved.

For those of us who have always read Isa., chap. 53, as expressive of the idea that the servant of Jehovah endures the penalty of other men's sins transferred to him, thus making expiation for them, and who find this language quoted in I Peter as applicable to Jesus and indeed uttered predictively of him, it is natural perhaps to assume that the author looked upon the death of Jesus as substitutionarily expiative. But not only does he not say this; what he does say practically excludes it. We may not indeed make too much of the fact that some of the best modern interpreters do not find the idea of substitution in the strict sense in the Isaiah passage; for we cannot assume that our author was in agreement with these particular modern interpreters. But it is pertinent to point out that the whole intent of his references to the death of Jesus is to urge first that the purpose of Jesus' death is that men having died to sin might live to righteousness, and especially to exhort them to follow his example, suffering patiently not for ill-doing, but for welldoing. Unless therefore we are prepared to ascribe to our author a thought about the death of Jesus which he does not at all express, and which is out of harmony with what he does say, we must abide by the thought that the death of Jesus fulfils a divine purpose and has universal significance in its revelation of the principle that it is the duty and privilege of the righteous to suffer innocently for the wicked, and by such suffering to win them to righteousness. Indeed we thus somewhat understate the fact. For since we know what significance the writer attached to the suffering of Jesus' followers (2:12; 3:1, 6, etc.), and since he expressly classes together the sufferings of Jesus and his followers, it is practically demanded of us that we give to the sufferings of Jesus a like meaning to that which our author expressly ascribes to those of his followers.

We conclude, therefore, that the author of the First Epistle of Peter is in harmony with most other New Testament writers in finding the fundamental value of the death of Jesus in the sphere of revelation, but that he lays especial emphasis on the vicarious sufferings of Jesus as setting an example which his followers ought to follow and by the following of which they may work results akin to those which Jesus himself accomplished in his death.

The purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to maintain the finality and perfection of the revelation made in Jesus and of the way of salvation revealed through him. It maintains this proposition in large part by setting forth the superiority of Jesus and the new covenant to the several corresponding elements of the Old Testament religion. Throughout the argument the validity of the old is not denied, but rather insisted upon. But upon the basis of such validity the superiority and finality of the new is maintained.

Such an argument might be addressed either to men who held fast to the old and were unwilling to surrender it in order to accept the new, or to men who, having regarded the new as a mere addition to the old, in no way modifying it, and, seeing the old about to perish, were tempted to give up their faith in God, surrendering old and new together. The total evidence of the letter makes it clear that it is in fact addressed to men of the latter class. The danger which threatens them, and which the letter seeks to ward off, is not a return of Christians who have abandoned Judaism to that Judaism, but a

total loss of faith in God on the part of men to whom the perishing of the old was practically a perishing of the whole.

To such men the writer comes reaffirming the validity of past revelation, but contending that the passing away of the old in no way justifies surrender of faith in God, for, in place of the old, God has already provided in Jesus that which is better, the final and permanent.

As in Paul, so in this epistle, the sin that is condemned, rather perhaps we should say, that in sin which makes it the object of divine wrath, is resistance to truth, an evil heart of unbelief. It is the drifting away from the message of the gospel against which the writer warns his readers especially. It is they who have tasted the good word of God and then fallen away whom it is impossible again and again to renew unto repentance. It is those who sin wilfully after they have received the knowledge of the truth for whom there remains only a certain fearful expectation of judgment and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries. The unforgivable sin is the neglect of truth of which men have already had apprehension (2:2; 3:12-19; 4:11; 6:4-6; 10:20-30).

To quote all that the writer has to say concerning the significance of sacrifice would involve the quotation of the major portion of 7:26-10:31. A reference to this portion of the epistle will make it clear that in the thought of the writer the sacrifices of the old covenant were themselves valid only unto cleanness of the flesh, and were never able to cleanse the consciences of men. It is impossible, he says, that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins. This system of sacrifices, which is but a shadow of the true, has been done away in the establishment of the new covenant in Christ. It is most important to observe that while the writer regards the sacrifices as divinely appointed, he does not think of them as ever having validity for the actual cleansing of the conscience or the securing of forgiveness. They achieved only the cleansing of the flesh, and symbolized the real cleansing of the soul and foreshadowed the real cleansing of conscience which was to take place through Christ.

In the ninth chapter he refers to the covenant spoken of in Exod. 24:7, to which, as we have judged, there is also reference in the

language of Jesus in connection with the Last Supper. The word $\delta\iota a\theta \acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$ which he uses in this connection has been the occasion of much perplexity, and its ambiguity has probably led to a general misinterpretation of the passage. The revised version reads:

And for this cause he is the mediator of a new covenant, that a death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant, they that have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance. For where a testament is (notice that the word is the same that is above translated covenant) there must of necessity be the death of him that made it. For a testament is of force where there hath been death, for doth it ever avail where he that made it liveth?

If this is the correct translation the writer has apparently played fast-and-loose with the ambiguous word $\delta\iota a\theta \eta\kappa\eta$, using it first in the sense of covenant, and then proving concerning it as a covenant things which can be proved only by taking it in the sense of testament, will. But it is quite possible that this translation and the suggested interpretation misrepresent the writer's thought, and that he intended rather to speak of a covenant throughout. The passage may be read as follows:

And for this cause he is the mediator of the new covenant, that a death having taken place for redemption of the transgressions that have relation to the first covenant, they that have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance. For where there is a covenant it is necessary that a death should be offered, for a covenant is valid in respect to dead men (where there has been death), since doth it then have force when he that made it lives?

If this is the correct translation then the writer has retained the same sense of $\delta\iota a\theta \acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$, and has interpreted the slaying of the animal in connection with the covenant as signifying the death of the maker, or since the term is probably generic, the makers of the covenant. In this case the underlying thought is that in the making of a covenant the parties to it signified that they died and thus cut off all relationship to their past lives. The revocation of the covenant is therefore impossible, for the men who made it are dead and cannot revoke the act by which it was made. This interpretation, which is substantially that of Westcott and of Rendall, avoids ascribing to the author an argument the whole force of which, depending upon the ambiguous meaning of a word, is of course in itself entirely invalid. But its significance for our present purpose is as showing that the

writer looked upon the death of the sacrificial animal in connection with the ratification of the covenant as a purely symbolic act intended to set forth the irrevocability of the covenant. If the more common interpretation be adopted the inconsequentialness of the argument itself makes it impossible for us to discover any significance in the fact of the death of the sacrifice. But aside from this somewhat obscure passage it is clear that the writer of the epistle ascribes to the ancient sacrifices only symbolic and foreshadowing significance.

It forms no part of the author's purpose to set forth explicitly a doctrine of forgiveness or of justification. Yet he is in no doubt as to his thought. As unbelief, inhospitality to truth, is the great and fundamental sin, so faith is the condition of salvation. Among the first principles of Christ he names first repentance from dead works, and faith toward God (6:7). It is they who have faith who enter into the divine rest (4:3). He has confidence that his readers are those who have faith unto the saving of the soul (10:30). Indeed the whole purpose of the letter may be stated to be to exhort and persuade those to whom it is written to maintain their faith steadfast to the end. The entire eleventh chapter is devoted to the setting forth of the examples of faith in the Old Testament. As is natural under the circumstances the element of persistence, endurance even in suffering, is emphasized in the presentation of faith, and following this eleventh chapter the author exhorts his readers to lay aside their easily besetting sin, by which he doubtless means unbelief, and to run with patience the race which was set before them, looking unto Jesus the author and perfector of their faith. The author is but expressing the same thought in other words when in the eighth and tenth chapters he describes it as the mission of Jesus to bring in a better covenant, and in language taken from Jeremiah describes that covenant in the words, "I will put my laws into their mind and on their heart also will I write them. And I will be to them a God and they shall be to me a people. For I will be merciful to their iniquities and their sins will I remember no more." The new covenant is a covenant of forgiveness of the sins of those on whose heart the law of God is written. This is, of course, the old familiar doctrine of the prophets set forth not only by Jeremiah in the passage which the author is quoting, but of Isaiah in the words, "Wash you, make . you clean; put away your evil doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well. Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool."

To deal adequately with the sufferings and death of Jesus as set forth by our author would require a careful exposition of a long list of passages (Heb. 2:9, 10; 2:14; 5:7-9; 7:25; 7:26, 27; 9: 11-28; 10:10; 10:19-22; 12:24; 13:12; 13:20). This would in turn demand an exposition of almost the whole epistle. Limitations of space excluding this, we must content ourselves with an articulated summary of the teachings of the epistle concerning the significance of the death of Jesus.

- 1. The sufferings of Jesus are the means by which he learned obedience and was made perfect, as is fitting for one who is to be the author of salvation to men (2:10; 5:7). The conception of suffering is intimately bound up with that of incarnation itself. "Since then the children are sharers in flesh and blood, he also himself in like manner partook of the same. For verily not to angels doth he give help, but he giveth help to the seed of Abraham. Wherefore it behooved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren. If in that he himself hath suffered being tempted he is able to succor them that are tempted."
- 2. Having thus been made perfect through suffering, he becomes the author of salvation to those that obey him (5:9), having obtained eternal redemption (9:12).
- 3. In his death he bears the sins of many. He was manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself (9:27, 28). He offered himself once for all for the sins of the people (7:27).
- 4. In this offering of himself he is both priest and offering, and by the perfection of his priesthood and of his offering he does away with all previously prescribed sacrifices.
- 5. Whereas the blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of a heifer sanctified only unto the cleanness of the flesh, the blood of Christ cleanses the consciences of men from dead works to serve the living God (9:13, 14; 10:22).
- 6. He becomes the mediator of a new covenant, and his blood is the blood of the new covenant with God. As in the ratification of the

old covenant a death takes place symbolizing the irrevocability of that covenant, so in the new covenant there is likewise a death, and the covenant is ratified with blood.

7. The new covenant differs from the old, however, fundamentally in this, that whereas in the old covenant the laws of God which the people covenanted to keep were external, written upon stone; in the new covenant they are put into their mind and written upon their hearts. The covenant is one of ethical relationship between God and man in accordance with which the will of God is written upon the hearts of men, and he forgives their sins.

The relation of these various thoughts which the writer gathers about the death of Jesus to one another and to the conception of atonement for sin is not transparently clear. For us the thought is obscured by the fact that the writer's controlling motive is to show that to every significant element of the old régime there is a corresponding element in the life and work of Jesus, that the new is in every case superior to the old, and that it authoritatively displaces the old. From this point of view it is not necessary that he should expound the significance of each of the several elements of the old system to which he finds a parallel in the life and work of Jesus; it is enough that for each element of the old there is a parallel element in the new which is superior to the old and displaces it.

Nevertheless there is certainly a clue to the writer's thought in the fact that he expressly finds the basis of fellowship between God and man in the new covenant of which Jesus is the mediator, and which involves on man's part an attitude of faith and the law written upon the heart. When to this we add the thought repeatedly expressed in various forms that Jesus makes propitiation for the sins of the people, that his blood cleanses the conscience from dead works, and that his blood is the blood of the new covenant, and that he was manifested to take away sins; when we add to this also that in that he himself hath suffered being tempted he is able to succor them that are tempted, and that having learned obedience by the things that he suffered he becomes to them that obey him the author of salvation, we seem to have the elements, only partially co-ordinated to be sure, but still the elements, of the doctrine that men are brought into reconciliation with God through a faith in

Jesus Christ which makes them partakers of his achieved virtue, that virtue which he achieved in his sufferings through the shedding of his blood. Thus he becomes the mediator of a better covenant because there is thus written upon the hearts of men that law of God to which he also learned obedience, and to which they become obedient by that fellowship with him through which they enter by faith.

It must be granted that there is a certain element of hypothesis in this reconstruction of the writer's doctrine of atonement. has nowhere set it forth thus organized. His doctrine is in a certain sense of the word formal; this, namely, that what the sacrifices of the old system and the priests of the old régime never could do, but could only symbolize and shadow forth, that Jesus veritably did. How he did it does not primarily concern him to explain. For his readers his purpose is accomplished if he can convince them that in the perishing of that old régime God has not forsaken his people. Nor is there reason to abandon all faith in God, for the old has at once vindicated itself as divine and branded itself as obsolete, in that its types and prophecies, themselves ineffectual save as types and prophecies, have found perfect fulfilment in the life and work of Christ. To discover in the epistle a positive content for the writer's doctrine of atonement one must depend in no small part upon his incidental references to the significance of Christ's work. Other combinations and interpretations of these incidental references may perhaps be possible, but that which seems most fully to account for them is the interpretation above suggested, in brief this: Men are reconciled to God when through faith in Jesus they appropriate from him that attitude of faith in and obedience toward God which he exemplified when, learning obedience through the things that he suffered, he shed his blood that he might bring men to God.

We may then sum up the teaching of the epistle as a whole in these propositions:

- 1. It is resistance to truth, an evil heart of unbelief, especially sinning wilfully after one has received the knowledge of the truth and become partaker of Christ, that incurs the divine displeasure.
 - 2. Sacrifice has no power to cleanse the conscience. Once valu-

able for the cleansing of the flesh and as a symbol of spiritual cleansing, it has now been wholly superseded and set aside.

- 3. The sufferings of Jesus are of significance (a) as perfecting the character of Jesus, (b) as taking the place of all temple sacrifice, (c) in that in his death he bears the sin of many, and (d) becomes the mediator of a new covenant.
- 4. Men become acceptable to God by the entrance into the new covenant of which Jesus is the mediator, whereby the law of God is written on their hearts. Atonement is through Jesus in that it is through faith in him that they become partakers in the new covenant.

It is not wholly clear whether the author was content to ascribe to Jesus the more perfect fulfilment of all that the ritual system represented, and the effectual accomplishment of all that it symbolized without distinctly defining to himself how he did this or the relations between the death of Jesus and the forgiveness of sin, or whether he conceived that Jesus became the mediator of a new covenant through the impartation to men of that spirit which he manifested in giving his life for men and the consequent creator of character acceptable to God. What is clear is on the one side that he regarded Jesus as taking up into himself and superseding the system of priestly sacrifice, and on the other that he conceived of atonement as accomplished through transformation of character by faith.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER XVI. SOCIAL DUTIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS¹

At first thought the ordinary modest Christian in humble private station, remote from the diplomatic circles of Washington, is inclined to imagine that affairs of international magnitude do not concern him, that they belong to the secrets of state, that his ignorance and lack of political influence excuse him from responsibility in such high and complicated matters. But morality has no national boundaries, and the claims of neighborliness are valid between kings and republics. The rulers of men are servants of God and history shows that they are better men and governors if watched by an intelligent people who love righteousness and hate iniquity.

There is not a person of intelligence so obscure in the republic that he can escape responsibility. Women may not vote but they have not lost the faculty of speech, and they have much to say about admitting or excluding newspapers of the "yellow" sort which go screeching rumors of war and plots to kill through streets and homes. The tone of conversation at the fireside in relation to foreigners helps to shape the phrases of congressmen on the floor of the House at Washington; for men ambitious of place are quick to imitate the accents of the "dear people" in the rural districts. Many a time in the past a small clique of merchants, eager to sell goods to savages or furnish munitions of war, and cabals of capital, have involved a nation in bloodshed and debt before the people knew why they were suddenly plunged into the awful maelstrom of conflicting forces.

As in previous parts of this study, we now attempt to bring before us some of the most important facts of international relations that we may see the grounds for popular interest in these large duties

¹ Biblical passages which may well be read at the beginning of this study are: Matt. 28:18, 19; Ps. 72.

and for the formation of public sentiment based on principles of reason and justice.

I. INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES BETWEEN PEOPLES IN TIMES OF PEACEFUL INTERCOURSE

1. Commerce.—Men trade with each other for mutual advantage, and each man offers the commodities or services of his trade or profession in return for other kinds of goods and services. The farmer produces grain, fruits, and meat for a market and exchanges them for the goods of the merchant, the services of the dentist, the song of the musician, and all parties to the exchange are benefited by the dealings. So one nation living in a warm climate can produce bananas, oranges, rice, cotton, and hard, fine wood, which it is eager to exchange for steel implements, cotton, and woolen cloth, kitchen utensils, and watches made by a people dwelling under colder skies having advantage in peculiar forms of skill. America has food supplies more than can be here consumed, while Germany, France, Italy, have fine wares which we cannot yet make so well or so cheaply; and those lands have collections of art in galleries and museums which we are glad to pay to enjoy.

Commerce, however, is often competitive, as where Germany, France, England, and the United States all desire to sell goods in China or Africa. Competition gives rise to conflict of interests, and these require settlement by treaties, agreements, adjustments. "Tariff wars" are carried on in times of peace, a form of retaliation to secure a basis for better bargains under new treaties. Just as there is a conflict of interests between laborers seeking the same chance to work for wages, between merchants soliciting the patronage of the village or town, between employer and employee in dividing the product of their united efforts, so there is conflict among competitors of different races and lands; and those conflicts sometimes are carried even to bloodshed.

2. International migration gives rise to serious problems of duty.—
Our citizens desire to travel securely in foreign lands for trade or
pleasure or health or learning. During many years this country had
vast areas of unoccupied lands which produced nothing because
there were not enough people to till the fields and work the mines

and sail the lakes. Our ancestors came across the ocean to improve their condition; and we are all foreigners except the Indians and the red men are not "Indians." For a long time our nation felt sure that we had "space about the hearth for all mankind." But space does not increase and the people of old countries swarm in limited territory; the farm which supported a family will not support five families and the children must emigrate or starve. Persecution in Russia makes thousands of Jews homeless and they seek a hospitable and tolerant shore. Ancient cities weary of bearing with criminals and of supporting paupers and defectives sought to relieve their troubles by shipping these undesirable persons to America. Are we bound to receive all that come or are sent to us? Even if there were room and soil to till, we have come to believe that national duty would lead to some measure of restriction of immigration. intelligent citizens who have considered the matter seem to reach the conclusion that we cannot maintain our type of life and the vigor and health of our stock if we adulterate our blood with that of degenerates imported from the prisons and asylums of Europe. We believe that our best service to mankind cannot be rendered if we suffer our working people to be dragged down to the level of the half-starved laborers of other countries and especially if we admit debased and diseased men and women. Further, we think that if we permit other countries to ship the results of their social neglect, excessive taxation for war and courts, low wages, imperfect care of the poor, and free multiplication of the sickly, those nations will not correct such evils at home. So long as England could transport her criminals she postponed the improvement of her prisons, popular education, and agencies of saving children and vouth from vice and ruin. When her failures were sent back she sought to dry up the evil at its spring.

3. There are the facts of interchange of ideas, inventions, publications, spiritual commerce of various kinds, which give rise to treaties and agreements. Of recent years the rights of inventors and discoverers have been more clearly recognized than formerly, and thus we have come to admit that a man who has introduced a new idea or written a valuable work, or invented a useful machine, or composed a piece of music, should be protected in his property for a term of years even if he belongs to another nation.

II. INTERESTS OF PEOPLES IN TIMES OF WAR

Unfortunately modern peoples have not yet become civilized enough to cease considering the possibilities and relations of war.

I. Occasions of war—that is of attempts at coercion by armed force. It is almost universally admitted that a man has a right to defend his own life, his family, and his property against assailants. Perhaps we should except those who believe in the duty of non-resistance; but there are circumstances under which even a good Quaker would not feel qualms of conscience after taking the life of a miscreant, and where he would feel himself a cowardly poltroon if he stood by and permitted deeds which he might by force prevent. And so there seem to be times when a people must either lie down and permit a king to step upon its neck, invade its territory, and rob its wealth, or must arm for battle. If a foreign navy or army should attempt to burn our cities and levy tribute upon us few men would hesitate to join the army or navy.

Invasion of foreign territory has for its object conquest of territory, opening of markets for goods, revenge for injuries or insults, or "glory" which we find it hard to define. Most of our citizens have come to see that while we have no right to conquer weaker peoples for gain or to exploit them by taxation when subdued, that the civilized nations have a right to keep up a strong police to repress piracy, brigandage, and the murder of travelers and merchants in countries without orderly government. It is true this position is denied by a limited number of citizens; but the outbreak of the Spanish War showed that our people could not endure the story of outrage in a near country where we had power to interfere.

It seems inevitable that commerce and the ideas of civilized nations must reach every part of the globe, and, incidental to the process, the use of protective police where local government does not exist or is inefficient must be occasionally invoked. It is at this point that every American citizen of intelligence feels himself under moral obligations to form some opinion and assume some attitude in relation to the problems connected with our dealings with the peoples of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Guam, Cuba, and Porto Rico.

2. What war means.—Painters, statisticians, and apostles of

peace have vied with each other in the attempt to make men realize what war means. The artist depicts upon canvas the mangled bodies, the looks of horror, fear, hate, agony, despair. Poets and orators set forth in language which burns into the imagination the miseries of the soldier, the sorrows of widows and fatherless children, the waste of harvest fields, the burning of homes and temples, the passions of vengeance, the feuds which remain like smoldering embers for generations after war has ceased. Economists tell the cost of war in money, in cessation of useful production, in diversion of capital and labor to the manufacture of means of destruction; they have shown how peaceful measures of progress, as workingmen's insurance and old-age pensions are delayed because of national expenditures upon war.

- 3. Can war be diminished? Moral obligations are affected by the possibility of finding means of remedy. Even now forces are at work among the peoples of the earth to diminish the frequency of war.
- a) Workingmen the world over are organizing a sentiment adverse to war. They are awake to the fact that little cliques of merchants, desiring to extend profitable trade, rings of courtiers and ambitious kings, and officers of army and navy eager for promotion, may plunge a nation into scenes of bloodshed and make the wage-earners carry the cost and become "food for gunpowder" to gratify avarice or vanity. They are aware that "glory" is often a mere cloak for base passions of men in high place and that a pretense of honor may easily hide most dishonorable deeds. Hence tradeunions and socialists in Europe and America are massing their forces to prevent conflicts of nations. They declare that at least workingmen are brothers the world over, and their interests are hostile to bloody methods of settling disputes.
- b) The influence of commerce is, perhaps, generally in favor of peace between nations; but sometimes merchants of an adventurous and unscrupulous type, wishing to control a traffic with partly civilized tribes, are known to involve their agents in trouble with such tribes and then call on the home government for help or even revenge and conquest. There can hardly be a doubt that commerce in the widest view of it tends to call for peaceful relations.

c) Christianity, when its meaning is appreciated and its spirit felt, is a force working for truth, righteousness, fair dealing, conciliation, reason, and peace.

III. INTERNATIONAL LAW

International law, in a strict sense, is that body of rules by which the civilized nations of modern times have actually agreed to regulate their dealings with each other in peace and in war. This body of rules is not identical with absolute justice; it does not always tend to promote the welfare of mankind, and still contains traces of the assertion of the right of the stronger to rule the weaker without security for the latter; and perhaps some of the rules look more to the advantage of those already in possession of power than to any sort of justice. It is simply a set of precepts generally accepted by advanced peoples for settling debated questions between them or any of their citizens.

International law tends on the whole toward justice, just because agreements which are reached by comparison of views by the capable representatives of many nations are more apt to exclude selfish considerations than rules made arbitrarily by a single dominant government. No body of law of any kind is entirely just, for imperfect humanity will show its defects of knowledge, wisdom and character in all its institutions; but always the spirit of reason and humanity moves in the actual codes and modifies them in the direction of the common welfare, that is toward righteousness.

All human institutions are growing, never entirely finished, since they must be molded to the changing needs of new situations; and all laws and customs are improved by a constant process of trial and criticism. Criticism is the process by which higher and broader considerations of well-being are brought to bear on the actual rule at a given time, so as to show that it somehow falls short of the demands of welfare and that a better rule can be framed.

International law differs materially from other laws. Thus the laws of a nation or of a commonwealth are framed by legislators chosen by the methods customary in that nation or commonwealth; while the rules of international law are merely agreements made between nations, since there is no legislature representing various nations and having authority to make laws governing their action.

Again, each nation or commonwealth has a supreme court which defines, interprets, and applies the laws to particular questions as they arise; but there is no supreme court to interpret the rules of public law whose decisions are binding on all parties concerned. In the case of ordinary federal or state laws there is some executive person or authority to see that the laws are made effective; but there is no executive sitting over the nations and compelling their observance of the rules of international law. The rules of public law arise out of disputes between nations; they are defined in treaties and interpreted by diplomacy or commissions as occasions arise; they are enforced only by the sense of honor, justice, and loyalty to veracity and good faith, although they may in the last resort be enforced by war. But war is simply a trial of force, not of reason.

What is the relation of international law to social duties? International law is in its essence an effort to define the conduct most conducive to common welfare in the relations of peoples in peace and war; it is one chapter in the system of thought about social duties. International law seeks to protect the integrity of nations, the right of each nation to its own government and to its own way of managing its affairs, so long as it does not trespass on others. It seeks to protect the peaceful control of its property and territory by each state. It defines the rights and duties of foreigners while they are residing or traveling among foreign peoples. It provides for diplomatic correspondence by means of ministers, ambassadors, consuls as agents of states. It provides for contracts and agreements in the form of treaties.

Even when war has been declared and the dreadful appeal to force has been sounded abroad, still international law intervenes and seeks to mitigate and minimize the horrors which it cannot altogether prevent. Under its beneficent rules prisoners taken in battle must be humanely treated in relation to food, lodging, and medical care.

Non-combatants, as women, children, the aged, and all persons pursuing their peaceful callings without taking up arms, are to be respected by the soldiery in person and property. If private property is taken or destroyed, through military necessity, a receipt is given the owner and he is afterward reimbursed for his losses. In former

ages of barbarism women were ravished, children were enslaved, property was the spoil of the conquerors, and the fury of passion was let loose on all the inhabitants of the invaded territory. The tendency of international law has been to confine the carnage of battle to persons and places actually employed in hostile acts.

On the field of battle the surgeons and nurses, and the tents where the flag of the Red Cross waves, are held sacred; hospitals are sanctuaries, even in the heat of conflict. Public buildings and works of art are not wantonly to be destroyed. Some restraint, though not much, is placed upon pillage and destruction in the storming of fortified places; there the ferocity and brutality of war still reveal their true nature in excess of horrors. Heralds from an opposing army and bearing a flag of truce, if received, are to be treated with respect and their lives are safe.

In the case of war with savages who do not recognize international law, Dr. Woolsey says: "The simple rule of humanity is all that can be required of the civilized combatant. The parties being unequal, and one of them ignorant, distrustful, and perfidious, there can be no law of nations to govern their intercourse." This means that such wars should not be forced upon an inferior people without the strongest proof of necessity.

International law seeks to regulate the treatment of neutral nations in time of war. "A neutral is a state which is a friend to both the belligerents and takes no part in the war" (Woolsey). With the immense growth of commerce in modern times it has become vastly important that innocent parties should not be ruined by the conflict of warring nations. A principle now generally admitted is that neutral nations should treat both fighters impartially and not be injured in trade by acts of hostility.

It sounds almost like mockery to speak of rules for war, that is, rules for murder and slaughter, and yet even a moderation of carnage is a gain, perhaps a movement, toward the abolition of such bloodshed.

For example, weapons and missiles which inflict agony without corresponding efficiency are condemned. Troops employed in war must be such only as can be kept under military discipline. Perfidy and solicitations to commit crime are not allowable. Military

necessity admits of such deception as does not involve the breaking of good faith. Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God. Military necessity does not admit of cruelty—that is, the infliction of suffering for the sake of suffering or for revenge—nor of maiming or wounding except in fight, nor of torture to extort confessions. It does not admit of the use of poisons in any way, nor of the wanton devastation of a district. It admits of deception, but disdains acts of perfidy.

It has more than once been sneeringly declared by cynical enemies of the nobler way that the whole movement to secure judicial settlement of disputes is a sign of weak sentimentalism, cowardice, and folly; that the great nations will never cease to fight when they think they have the advantage; that the Hague Conference representing the various governments in consideration of methods of reducing liability to war ended with hypocritical talk. But there are those well entitled to respect who take a quite different view of this recent development of rational and judicial agencies for avoiding appeal to brute force.

Under the leadership of members of the Society of Friends the Lake Mohonk Conference has for several years met and labored over a programme of progressive action, and this was its platform at the thirteenth annual conference on international arbitration, 1907:

We urge as the most immediate and important action to be taken by this second Hague Conference the following measures: (1) a provision for stated meetings of the Hague Conference; (2) such changes in the Hague Court as may be necessary to establish a definite judicial tribunal always open for the adjudication of international questions; (3) a general arbitration treaty for the settlement of international disputes; (4) the establishment of the principle of the inviolability of innocent private property at sea in time of war; (5) a declaration to the effect that there should be no armed intervention for the collection of private claims when the debtor nation is willing to submit such claims to arbitration. We commend, in accordance with our resolution of last year, the consideration by the Hague Conference of a plan for the neutralization of ocean trade routes.

The Hague Conference of 1907 was not wholly fruitless, although the advance made was not so great as many of us might wish.

Even in regard to a purely international court supplementing the present diplomatic body, while the details are not settled, the foundation of such a court

is now definitely laid through the adoption by the Conference of the underlying principle of permanent, paid judges, who shall not be allowed to occupy any other position, as is permitted to the present judges on the Hague list of the court erected in 1899. As distinguished from the present Hague Tribunal, it will be called the Hague Court of Arbitral Justice. The first court will exist for adjustment of political disputes; the second for those of a more juridical nature.²

The conference of 1907 adopted the principle of prohibiting the use of force for collection of debts until after the justice and amount of the debt, its time and manner of payment, and the security to be given shall be fixed by arbitration, if demanded by the debtor.

It is always the way of the cynic to belittle any argument which does not make direct appeal to force; and he asks with bitter contempt, What is the sanction of such a court? The sanction of the decisions of an international court is public opinion. Professor J. B. Moore, a high authority on international law, said:

What sanction would there be for the enforcement of arbitral decisions? We answer, the most efficient of all sanctions, public opinion. It is a great mistake to suppose that the peace and good order of society are preserved by the penalties prescribed in the criminal codes. And so far as such penalties exert an influence, it is by the disgrace attending their imposition, rather than by the physical inconvenience that attends their infliction. Let him who is doubtful as to the execution of the judgments of international arbitration, reflect upon the fact that in most cases such judgments have been scrupulously observed, and that in no case have nations, after having agreed to arbitrate a dispute, gone to war about it. Arbitration has brought peace, and "peace with honor."

IV. A WORLD-WIDE POLICY OF DUTY FOR A CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

Deeper than all law is national character of which law is but one expression.

- 1. Our best protection against wrong is our own righteousness, fairness, kindness to all men in all relations. The most powerful means of overcoming evil is goodness. To conquer the heart of a man or a nation is the only enduring conquest. To be secure in universal good-will is the most impregnable fortress.
- 2. It is the duty of the Christian ministry and of the church everywhere to make known the history, the principles, and the moral foundation of the modern method of deciding international differences by judicial methods. If ever it were proper to give the full and unquestioned sanction of religion to duty, it is here.

² Outlook, November 9, 1907, p. 509.

Long ago a Christian jurist spoke the word:

Though public tribunals do not proceed from nature, but from the act of man, yet equity and natural reason dictate to us that we must conform to so laudable an institution, since it is much more decent and more conducive to tranquillity among men that a matter should be decided by a disinterested judge than that men, under the influence of self-love, should right themselves according to their notions of right.³

Why should not the class review the cases decided against Canada by agreements with Great Britain and by tribunals of arbitration, and open them up again for reconsideration? With honorable men a debt is never outlawed, and a legal decision which was unfair, or which justly wounded the self-respect of a helpless person, is never regarded as the end of debate. Why should our great nation insist on keeping territory which belongs to Canada merely because, under stress of danger, perhaps, or in the ignorance of her diplomatists, the mother-country gave an adverse decision against one of her dependencies? It is not at all likely that Canadians will ever bring up these settled matters again; but they cannot forget, and if we are wrong the fact that we are strong is only a reason why we should even yield a point for the sake of convincing our noble neighbors that we are not mean and unscrupulous. (See the textbook, *The Story of the Canadian People*, by David M. Duncan, pp. 395-404.)

Let the church teach its congregations to pray for peace and righteousness, and that the Father of all may hasten the day when

All men's good shall Be each man's rule; and universal peace Lie like a shaft of light across the land, And like a lane of beams across the sea, Through all the circle of the golden year.

3. World-wide missions.—It is not enough to remain at home and be negatively, passively just; we are debtors to all men, and our Lord bids us go into all the earth and proclaim the glad tidings to all peoples, peace and good-will through all lands and in every tongue.

Let a certain type of socialism proclaim the union of one class, inspired by "class consciousness;" be it ours to take up the fragment of truth which they assert with enthusiasm and proclaim the union of men, not merely the union of wage-earners. Only when men of all races and ranks have come to be one in the Kingdom of God which Jesus proclaimed shall we have the final and enduring pledge of peace by righteousness.

³ Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, Lib. I. c. 3. 1 (Vol. I, p. 95).

Whork and Whorkers

THE Jewish Publication Society of America proposes to issue a new translation of the Bible in the immediate future. Professor Max. L. Margolis has been appointed as editor-in-chief of the undertaking, and will have his office in Philadelphia.

THE International Sunday-School Lesson Committee has been very busy in recent months. It has just issued an "Advanced Course" of lessons which is to run in part parallel with the Uniform Course of 1909. The Advanced Course is entitled *Peter and Paul, Apostles to Jew and Gentile*, and it is adapted for the use of classes in the adult department of the Sunday school or for private study. Copies of this course may be obtained by addressing the secretary of the Lesson Committee, Professor Ira M. Price, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

The committee has likewise issued the final form of the "Uniform Course" for 1910. The entire year is given to the study of the book of Matthew. The Uniform Course for 1911 has also been tentatively prepared, and sent out to Sunday-school editors for criticisms and suggestions. This course covers *The Divided Kingdom, Captivity and Return*.

THE Semitic Department of the University of Chicago has welcomed to its classrooms during the summer quarter the following rabbis of the Central West: Ephraim Frisch, Pine Bluff, Ark.; J. Rauch, Sioux City, Iowa; E. M. Mannheimer, Des Moines, Iowa; H. W. Ettelson, Fort Wayne, Ind.; and G. G. Fox, Cincinnati, Ohio. There were present in its classes also the following Jewish students: H. M. Cohen, L. J. Levinger, W. Seisz, S. Schwartz, and I. M. Gordon. Advanced courses in Hebrew and cognate tongues attract teachers from several institutions. In this past summer's roll we find the following names: Professor T. H. Cotton, of Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.; Professor Edward Frantz, Mac-Pherson College, MacPherson, Kan.; Professor Carl Gaenssle, Concordia College, Milwaukee, Wis.; Professor A. E. Hetherington, New Westminster College, B. C.; Professor I. G. Matthews, McMaster University, Toronto, Ont.; Professor J. J. Reeve, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Professor G. Sverdrup, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.; Professor C. B. Williams, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

CANON CHARLES BIGG, regius professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, died in July last, at the age of sixty-eight. His most notable books were: The Christian Platonists of Alexandria (1886), Neoplatonesia (1895), and a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude ("International Critical Commentary," 1901).

Book Reviews

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes.

By George Aaron Barton. [International Critical Commentary.] New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. xiv +212. \$2.25.

To the average minister the Book of Ecclesiastes is little more than a bundle of inconsistencies, from which he occasionally extracts a striking text. The significance of the book as a whole is to him an enigma. He sometimes questions its right to a place in the Bible. This new commentary will be found invaluable by all such persons. The appeal of the volume, however, is primarily to the careful student for whom the International Series of Commentaries is intended; to such a seeker it will yield rich returns.

The history of the interpretation of Ecclesiastes is extremely interesting. For centuries attributed to Solomon and treated as a unit, scholarly opinion has in recent years gone to the opposite extreme. Critics like Siegfried. Bickell, and Haupt have left scarcely one stone standing upon another in the structure of the book. It has become the fashion to consider it the work of many men of many minds. But Professor Barton strives to find the golden mean by being not overmuch analytical or hypercritical. Following the lead of McNeile's Introduction to Ecclesiastes, he resolves the book into three strands which may be clearly traced in the text. The first writer was Ooheleth, whose name the book carries. To him belong those portions of the text reflecting a somewhat pessimistic and materialistic outlook upon life, yet withal religious. The second contributor was a lyrical sage who took advantage of the presence of some proverbial wisdom in the text of Qoheleth to add other maxims less directly connected with the teachings of Qoheleth. Finally, to give this book, carrying the weight of Solomon's great name as author, the necessary religious tone, a Jewish saint of Pharisaic type added those passages which blunt the edge of Ooheleth's sharp sayings and bring the book more nearly into line with orthodox religion. This account of the origin seems to meet all the demands of a good working hypothesis and to yield a satistactory meaning for the book.

Sanity of judgment, rather than novelty of view, is characteristic of this volume. This appears in the decision to allow Qoheleth the liberty of writing in poetry or prose as the nature of his theme or his mood at the

time of writing may dictate. It appears in Professor Barton's reluctance to adopt any one of the current views as to the nature of Hebrew meter. It is conspicuous also in his attitude toward the much-discussed question of Greek influence upon the thought of Ecclesiastes. He refuses to acknowledge any dependence of Ooheleth upon either Epicurean or Stoic thought, and agrees with McNeile in considering the Hebrew spirit capable of producing the parallels to these philosophies under the conditions of its own environment. An interesting parallel is adduced from the Gilgamesh epic of Babylonia to show that the Semitic mind had already as early as 2000 B. C. worked out types of thought similar to those current in Greece at a far later date. The commentary proper is well arranged; each section of the text falls under the following scheme: title, general summary, translation, general comments, textual and critical notes. translation is in fine type and the poetical portions of the text are printed as such. The different sources are indicated by different styles of type. The only defect in the makeup of the volume is the inexcusably bad proofreading. In every other respect the work constitutes a worthy companion volume to those that have preceded it in this splendid series. It is, of course, easily the best commentary in English on Ecclesiastes and is surpassed by none in any language.

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Dated Events of the Old Testament. By WILLIS JUDSON BEECHER, D.D. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1907. Pp. 202. \$1.50.

The title of this work is suggestive. It seems to be based on materials which are valuable in determining a chronological scheme. These materials in the Old Testament are of four kinds: (1) numerals, (2) time words, (3) the order in which events are mentioned, and (4) the nature of events. There are also data in great abundance from extra-biblical sources which were not available in the times of Ussher and other great biblical chronologists. The most valuable of these sources are the Canon of Ptolemy, the Assyrian Eponym Lists, the Babylonian Lists of dynasties and of kings, the synchronous history of Assyria-Babylonia, and some Egyptian lists of kings, and history containing dated events; also some astronomical data.

Professor Beecher discusses, in five introductory chapters, the material, the methods, the limits and the value of Bible chronology. The body of the work is devoted to chronological parallels of the events in Israel and the most important contemporaneous peoples from Abraham's appearance in

Canaan to the time of Christ, broken into four tables. These tables are: (1) Abraham to Joshua, (2) Joshua to Solomon, (3) Description of the Kingdom to the close of Old Testament history, and (4) from the close of the Old Testament to the birth of Christ. Each right-hand page carries twenty-five years of time, set in the center of the page, from two to six columns, with the specific dated biblical events on the right, and the contemporaneous events on the left side of these columns. The left-hand pages throughout the volume discuss briefly, and to the point, the chronological tangles which appear in the parallels on the right-hand page.

The author's results have been secured by the application of the principle laid down in his introduction. He proceeds with caution and eminent good sense, with an apparent pre-disposition for the validity of the so-called biblical chronology. He places an interrogation point over the biblical-date column for every date earlier than 757 B.C. Of the Assyrian chronology he says, "Certainly it is correct, being confirmed by a multitude of facts, and by the Ptolemaic and biblical chronologies, and by astronomical calculation" (pp. 17, 18). He says further, "This condition of things is equally a confirmation of the correctness of Ptolemy's canon. But we should not neglect the fact that it is also equally a confirmation of the correctness of the biblical data" (p. 18).

Now it appears, however, that his use of the interrogation point on the date-columns before 757 B.C. is due to his practical rejection of the date of the Assyrian Eponym Canon between the close of the reign of Adad-Nirari III (783 B. C.) and the beginning of the reign of Ashurdan III (773 B.C.). This period covers only 10 years in the Eponym Canon, while Professor Beecher counts 61 years on the biblical scale. The crucial point in his discussion is the disposition of this extra 51 years. Lack of space will not permit us to follow all the threads of his argument, but some must be noted. In favor of the shorter chronology are: (1) the three fragmentary Eponym Canons, (2) certain long numbers noted in Sennacherib's inscriptions. In favor of the longer chronology of 61 years for the same period, the author adduces (1) biblical numbers confirmed by biblical accounts of events, (2) long numbers found in the Bible, and (3) Josephus. To these three he adds a fourth which he counts of great value, for on Egyptian data the invasion of Shishak in Rehoboam's time could not have taken place as late as 927 B.C., the Assyrian date for it. But the best Egyptian chronology of today (Breasted, History of Egypt, p. 600) puts the reign of Sheshonk I at 945-24 B.C., cutting out entirely the fourth point in favor of the long chronology, and casting the entire burden of proof on the two biblical points and Josephus.

The full discrepancy between the shorter and the longer periods is 51 years. There have been at least three attempts to dispose of this trouble: (1) The Assyrian state annalists omitted a period of 51 years, possibly due to events discreditable to Assyria; (2) the biblical and Egyptian numbers overlap each other, and can in some way be reduced so as to agree with the Assyrian, or (3) the biblical accounts are to be rejected as untrustworthy.

Professor Beecher adopts the first of these theories to account for the extra 51 years. To the statement that the Assyrian Eponym Canon is well accredited he replies, that the biblical "numbers that here contradict it are exactly as well accredited, and by the same pieces of evidence" (p. 10). This can scarcely be true, for there is no continuous list of officials in Hebrew history whom we can follow without a break for 227 years as we can Assyrian. The evidence is far from the same. Though nothing specific is said about coregencies in this period, it is evident that Jotham was king during the years of his father's leprosy (II Kings 15:5). were also coregencies in the southern kingdom in the times of Jehoshaphat. Since we know (1) that coregencies, overlapping reigns, were in vogue both inside and outside of Israel; (2) that the latest Egyptian chronology of this period makes liberal allowance for them (cf. Breasted, as above); (3) that three fragmentary Eponym Canons agree on ten years for this period; (4) that the Hebrew writers seemed not to have had a strictly chronological method in their history-writing, we are driven to the conclusion that the most plausible solution of the difficulty is the adoption of the Assyrian By a perfectly consistent method of overlapping, hinted at in Jotham's reign (contemporaneous with his father), we can harmonize both Hebrew and Assyrian dates without doing violence to the narrative.

It is evident that the author's solution of the discrepancy of 51 years between his so-called biblical dates, and those of the Eponym Canon is responsible (1) for their "interregna" in Israel and Judah; (2) for the assumption of an intentional dropping out of 51 years in the Assyrian Canon lists; (3) for the displacement of the biblical chronology by 51 years from that period back to the division of the kingdoms.

The scheme presented for the last seven hundred years, from 701 to 1 B.C., is exceedingly useful and admirably well done. The events are conservatively arranged, and furnish the student with historical notes touching contemporaneous peoples, especially in Greece and Rome. For this period students have an invaluable helper in this volume. The author's conscientiousness is apparent on every page.

IRA M. PRICE

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

Paton, L. B. Jerusalem in Bible Times. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. xii+169. \$1.00.

An excellent handbook for students and travelers. The author in a clear and concise manner gives the facts concerning the sites, the archaeology, and the history of Jerusalem that every Bible student should know. The book not only evinces familiarity with the results of recent investigation, but itself makes a worthy contribution to the sum of existing knowledge about Jerusalem.

WRIGHT, C. H. H. Light from Egyptian Papyri on Jewish History before Christ. London: Williams & Norgate, 1908. Pp. xvii+123. 35.

The title of this book is misleading; of seven chapters only three have anything at all to do with the "Egyptian papyri," which are in reality the Aramaic papyri found in Egypt and published by Sayce and Cowley and Sachau. Professor Wright's real interest is in the authorship and date of the Book of Daniel, and it is to this that he devotes the bulk of this book, which is little more than a popularization of his earlier book, Daniel and His Prophecies. No contribution is made by this part of the book to a better understanding of Daniel. The opening chapters offer a good English translation of some of the Aramaic papyri and emphasize the fact that the Aramaic is essentially the same as the so-called biblical Aramaic found in Daniel, Ezra, and Ieremiah.

Powell, H. H. The Supposed Hebraisms in the Grammar of the Biblical Aramaic. [University of California Publications, Vol. I, No. 1.] Berkeley, 1907. Pp. 55. \$0.75.

A careful examination of the Hebrew forms and words in the biblical Aramaic for the purpose of discovering whether they be due to Hebrew influence upon the Aramaic or are merely errors of copyists or due to the general Semitic character of these supposedly Hebraistic phenomena. The author's conclusion is that little, if any, Hebrew influence is evidenced by the biblical Aramaic. The study should now be enlarged to include the recently discovered Aramaic papyri of Elephantine.

KAUTZCH, E. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments. Lieferung 3, pp. 129-92. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1908. M. 0.80.

The third edition of this valuable translation of the Old Testament is making rapid progress. The present part extends to Num. 5:30.

JEREMIAS, ALFRED. Die Panbabylonisten. Der alte Orient und die aegyptische Religion. Zweite erweiterte Auflage. [Im Kampfe um den alten Orient. Wehrund Streitschriften herausgegeben von A. Jeremias und H. Winckler. 1.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. 72. M. o.8o.

JEREMIAS, ALFRED. Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie. [Im Kampfe um den alten Orient u. s. w., 3.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. 64. M. 1.20.

These two studies by Jeremias are of importance as coming from one of the leading representatives of the pan-Babylonian School, recently discussed by Professor Barton in the pages of the *Biblical World*.

Löhr, Max. Die Stellung des Weibes zu Jahwe-Religion und -Kult untersucht. [Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, herausgegeben von R. Kittel, Heft 4.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. 54. M. 1.80.

This study seeks to determine whether or not the common statement that the Hebrew women had no part in the ritual of Jehovah worship is correct. Löhr's conclusion is that in early times women and men were on the same plane religiously, but that in the days of the later Jewish community the cultus was almost exclusively the business of men only. This is a good piece of work which will repay careful study.

YAHUDA, A. S. Ueber die Unechtheit des Samaritanischen Josuabuches. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1908. Pp. 27. M. 1.

A strong argument for the late origin of the recently discovered Samaritan Book of Joshua. This was heralded upon its discovery as a rescript of an original which antedated the Christian era, and thus as the oldest known edition of a biblical book. Dr. Yahuda, however, points out its striking agreement with certain comparatively modern Arabic chronicles and its constant dependence upon the Massoretic text, and concludes that it is the work of a compiling scribe.

Bosse, A. Die chronologischen Systeme im Alten Testament und bei Josephus. [Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, XIII, 2.] Berlin: Wolf Peiser, 1908. Pp. 76. M. 3.

This is an investigation of the chronological systems of the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Bible, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Josephus. The study is of much value to all who are interested in harmonizing the chronological discrepancies of these various sources. The author concludes that the Massoretic system is the forerunner of all the rest, and that this system is a fusion of the great sun-year, equivalent to 260 ordinary years and common in Babylonian chronology, with the generation cycle (=40 years). The Septuagint employs a totally different system based upon a great moon-year, equivalent to 355 ordinary years; hence the constant variation from the Hebrew numbers. The Samaritan confines itself to the reckoning by generations of 40 years each. Josephus follows the Septuagint in employing the great moon-year as its basis, but combines this with the Sirius-period of 1,460 years, as well as some wholly unsystematic reckonings.

ARTICLES

EERDMANS, B. D. The Hebrews in Egypt. *The Expositor*, September, 1908, pp. 193-207.

A continuation of Professor Eerdmans' attempt to demonstrate that the prevailing analysis of the sources of the Hexateuch is incorrect. The Exodus is here assigned to 1125 B.C., in the reign of Ramses XII. The descendants of Abraham entered Egypt, according to Eerdmans, in two divisions—the Hebrews, who are identical with the 'Apriw of the Egyptian inscriptions, at least as early as the reign of Thutmes III (ca. 1503–1449 B.C.), and the Israelites in the reign of Septah (ca. 1205 B.C.). Furthermore, instead of identifying the Khabiri of the Amarna letters with the Hebrews, Eerdmans makes the name equivalent to the Egyptian Kharu (=Palestine) and thus to designate the local population of Palestine as distinguished from the Egyptian garrisons in Palestine. The article is of great interest, but its conclusions are too dependent upon questionable philological equivalences to command assent.

SMITH, GEORGE A. Have the Hebrews Been Nomads? A Reply to Professor Eerdmans. *The Expositor*, September, 1908, pp. 254-72.

This is a competent answer to an article by Eerdmans in the August Expositor which set forth the view that the patriarchs were farmers rather than nomads, and therefore called for a reconstruction of current views concerning Israel's early history.

STOCKS, —. Der "Nördliche" und die Komposition des Buches Joel. Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, September, 1908, pp. 725-50.

The author holds that the "northerner" of Joel 2:20 designates the Scythian host, and that the Book of Joel is to be placed early in the reign of Josiah soon after the discovery of Deuteronomy and the withdrawal of the Scythians.

BAENTSCH, B. Prophetie und Weissagung. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, July, 1908, pp. 457-85.

An excellent discussion of the nature of prophecy and the extent and character of the predictive element in Hebrew prophecy.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

JEFFERSON, CHARLES E. The Character of Jesus. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1908. Pp. 353. \$1.65.

A series of twenty-six Sunday-evening addresses, each dealing with some leading quality in the character of Jesus, e. g., the strength of Jesus, his sincerity, etc. The preacher's attitude is one of healthful devotion, and is not marred either by polemical conservatism on the one hand or by barren criticism on the other.

CLEMEN, CARL. Die Entwicklung der christlichen Religion innerhalb des Neuen Testaments. Leipzig: Göschen, 1908. Pp. 136. M. o.8o.

In order to understand the development of the Christian religion within the New Testament one must appreciate the spirit of that age. This necessitates a study of the thought of the formative personalities of the period, and so gives the author the plan for his book. After examining the more important items in contemporary Judaism, he makes the preaching of Jesus, the Pauline theology, and the thought of the Johannine circle the point of view from which to observe the evolution of New Testament Christianity. But, while recognizing the principle of development, he remarks: "The oldest forms of Christianity are not antiquated, but stand the test again and again and so remain ever young."

LÜTGERT, W. Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Christuspartei. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. Pp. 157. M. 3.

An exposition of the theory that the Christ-party mentioned in I Cor. 1:12 was a sect of gnostic fanatics.

ROBERTSON, A. T. Epochs in the Life of Jesus: A Study of Development and Struggle in the Messiah's Work. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. Pp. ix+192. \$1.00.

In the language of fervid and transcendent faith the author presents a popular summary of the life of Jesus. The treatment is uncritical, the stand-point being that of traditional orthodoxy and the style such as was eminently suited to the material when delivered as Chautauqua addresses. In book form these discourses will probably afford helpful devotional reading for some, while, at the same time, more exacting scholarship will fail to find any real contribution to the Life-of-Christ literature or any significant interpretation of Jesus to the life of today.

ARTICLES

CLEMEN, CARL. Does the Fourth Gospel Depend upon Pagan Traditions? American Journal of Theology, October, 1908, pp. 529-46.

Professor Clemen shows the inadequacy of recent attempts to trace the fundamental conceptions of the Johannine theology variously to the so-called Hermetic literature, to Buddhism, to Babylonian thought, or even to Greek mystery religion. It is granted that foreign terminology may be responsible for certain expressions, e. g., "shepherd," as a designation for Jesus, but the evangelist's thought was fundamentally independent of all non-Jewish religions and philosophies.

STEINMETZ, RUDOLPH. Textkritische Untersuchung zu Röm. 1:7. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, IX, 3 (1908), pp. 177-89.

The writer's main object is to demonstrate the originality of the phrase $\ell \nu$ 'P $\omega\mu\eta$ in Rom. 1:7, but incidentally his treatment is of interest for other portions of the

epistle. He assumes that a circle outside of Rome early generalized the letter for the purpose of public reading and so omitted the place designations in both 1:7 and 1:15. The same cause accounts also for the traditional variations in the position of the doxology at the close of the epistle. The closing chapters stood originally in their present form.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

VEDDER, H. C. Christian Epoch Makers. The Story of the Great Missionary Eras in the History of Christianity. Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland Press, 1908. Pp. x+368.

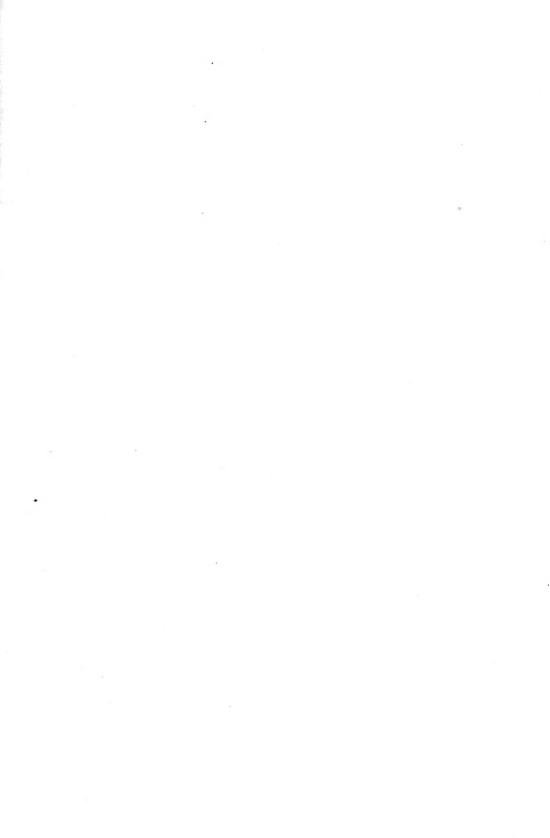
Interesting and inspiring sketches of great missionaries of ancient and modern times, from Paul, Ulfilas, Patrick, and Augustine down to Carey, Judson, and Livingstone. This book should have a wide reading.

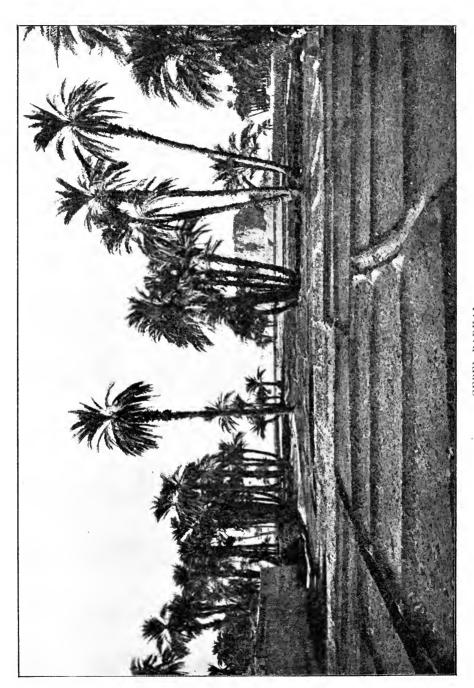
GOODSPEED, E. J. The Conflict of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (Patrologia Orientalis, IV, 6). The Ethiopic Text Edited and Translated. With the Remains of the Coptic Versions by W. E. Crum. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1908. Pp. 158. Fr. 9.50.

This life of the great Patriarch of Antioch was written in Greek by one of his successors in that office, Athanasius of Antioch, half a century or more after Severus' death. From Greek the work passed into Coptic, then into Arabic, and then into Ethiopic. The Greek and Arabic forms are lost, but the Coptic fragments and the complete work in Ethiopic are now first published.

RADAU HUGO. Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times, Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. iv+55.

From the preface to this book we learn "that the Babylonian religion is a purely monotheistic religion, more particularly a monotheistic trinitarian religion." The first sentence of Part I reads: "It is admitted by every one who has studied the religion of the Babylonians, that it is from the first to the last polytheistic. By a more or less successful series of permutations and combinations this apparent contradiction is removed, and Enlil, who is 'one flesh' with Ninlil, his wife, is shown to be the one Babylonian deity." The second part shows that the belief in the resurrection is the essential doctrine of the Babylonian, as well as of the Christian, religion. As Marduk displaced Fenlil, so Christ displaced Marduk. Christ is really nothing but a second edition of Marduk. "Our Easter-festival is the old, old spring festival, celebrating the resurrection of nature, made possible by the victory of the spring over the winter. Nature does indeed rise, man is a part of nature, Christ is man, therefore Christ did rise! And the risen Christ is the Bêl, the Lord!" This monotheistic trinitarian religion was systematized as early as 7000 B. C. So we are told. But why so low a date? Why not date it from the glacial period?





Viewed through palms of Barkal village; at its foot stand the temples of Napata (Noph), the capital of Ethiopia in Isaiah's time GEBEL BARKAL

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Editorial

THE CHURCH'S INTEREST IN SCHOLARSHIP PREVAILING APATHY TOWARD BIBLICAL STUDY

The sixth number of the third volume of the New York Review carries the announcement that with this issue the journal ceases publication. The reason for the suspension is stated in the following terms:

At its inception three years ago its editors promised to present the best work of Catholic scholars at home and abroad on theological and other problems of the present day. It is the keeping of that promise, not the breaking of it, that is the cause of the suspension of the *Review*. For the number of Catholics interested in questions which are of importance to the thinkers of the present generation—and which will be vital to all classes in the next—has been found to be so small that it does not justify the continuance of the *Review*.

The Review in question was the exponent of the more progressive element of the Roman Catholic church in America. While not aggressive and radical enough to antagonize the great conservative section of the church, it nevertheless made its appeal distinctly and directly to those Catholics who sympathize with the Modernist movement. The appeal, however, finds no sufficient response and the journal perishes for lack of support. Let us not fall into the error of too hastily condemning Catholicism as lacking interest in the religious aspects of scientific and philosophical problems and of forgetting that American Protestantism itself is not altogether free from blame in this regard. The simple fact is that America boasts not a single scientific biblical or theological journal which is entirely self-supporting. All existing publications of this sort are either sub-

sidized or endowed, or supported by some scientific organization. The great majority of theological magazines are denominational organs existing for the propagation of specific tenets and the cultivation of denominational zeal and loyalty. At least one high-grade, independent theological quarterly has died of starvation within the last decade. Others are kept going only by the most self-denying labors on the part of both editors and contributors. There is no distinction in this matter between Catholic and Protestant; both are alike apathetic toward the discovery and furtherance of truth for its own sake.

THEOLOGICAL PARTISANSHIP

One reason for this somewhat discouraging situation doubtless lies in the fact that we are all by nature partisans, and especially so in religious and theological affairs. We instinctively "take sides" and strive strenuously that victory may rest upon our banners. We easily fall into the error of being satisfied with partial truth; the fullorbed concept escapes us. The ability to see things as they really are, rather than as we want them to be, is acquired only by long and arduous "Truth for truth's sake" is a modern slogan; it is the label of the scientific spirit, itself a recent production. Truth for man's sake is the utterance of the Christian spirit. Both alike when properly understood are insistent upon truth and nothing but the truth. But the church is slow to realize its own highest ideals. Encouragement for those who long for rapid progress in the development of the church's loyalty to truth is to be found in the degree to which long-established sectarian prejudices and carefully guarded denominational barriers are breaking down, and have broken down in recent decades. people are drawing closer together in a common effort to realize and incarnate the truth underlying all their various systems. Never was there a more opportune time than the present for developing a contagious enthusiasm for truth, a passion for its discovery that will not stop short of finding it, however long and difficult the search, and a zeal for its propagation that will be satisfied with nothing less than its lodgment in the mind and heart of every individual. such an atmosphere scientific journals, even in the realm of exegesis and theology, would find abundant support and stimulus.

THEOLOGICAL CONSERVATISM

Another reason for the apathy which characterizes the church's attitude toward the findings of biblical and theological scholarship lies in the conservatism which is characteristic of religion. Nothing moves more slowly away from the past than the religious spirit. Rooted firmly in history it regards its religious inheritance as a sacred trust and is loath to change its form. Dealing with the most fundamental and precious convictions of the human heart it shrinks from the shock that inevitably accompanies theological change and reconstruction. It naturally fears and distrusts everything that causes it pain. It is not surprising therefore that the Catholic church has not welcomed "Modernism" with open arms or that the Protestant church has yielded grudgingly to the advance of biblical criticism and "new theology." Great changes in the thought of the church have never been wrought suddenly. Long processes of preparation have lain behind every great movement in the history of the church. Minorities are converted into majorities only by long-continued agitation and education through pulpit and press. The future of the church is always in the hands of a clear-sighted and far-seeing minority. The price of theological progress is hard labor in the face of more or less violent opposition. But the torch of truth must be kept ablaze even though it consume those who uphold it. The time has not yet come, and never will, when the church may be considered to have attained the maximum of light available for its guidance. of a scientific and sane religious press in American life is indisputably clear. Only so can the ministry be kept in touch with the progress of theological thought or the layman be brought into close touch with the great issues now occupying men's minds. Intelligent leadership apart from a progressive and aggressive religious press can hardly be expected. No greater calamity could befall the church than the silencing of its scientific and scholarly publications, either through the behest of hostile authority or through the fact of insufficient support due to profound apathy of the church at large. Fortunately signs are not wanting that the Protestant church in America, at least, is awakening to its needs in this respect. The recent establishment of one new theological quarterly and the wide reading rapidly being secured by another one point in this direction.

MATERIALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE

A third element to be taken into consideration in accounting for the slight support hitherto accorded in America to scientific publications in theology is to be sought in the physical background of our national life. The necessities attendant upon the establishment of homes in a new country, on the one hand, and, on the other, the unparalleled abundance of physical resources offered by the territory have combined to center attention and energy upon the material aspects of our civilization. The result is a comfort, wealth, and splendor previously unknown. But the absorption of energy in these directions left little time or inclination for the cultivation of the aesthetic, intellectual, and spiritual phases of life. These have been allowed largely to care for themselves; the generally prevailing attitude toward progress in all these matters has been one of apathy. For example, in the October issue of the Atlantic Monthly, a New York editor is moved to discuss this question: "Can a newspaper tell its readers the plain, unflattering truth and pay its way?" The editor's conclusion, "there are the most hopeful indications that we have now a sufficient public thirst for truth to guarantee a market for such a newspaper," while encouraging for the future, takes it for granted that such a newspaper has been an impossibility thus far. The possession of such an elementary and fundamental virtue as that presupposed by the truth-telling newspaper would seem to be indispensable to a people's progress toward the heights of civilization. The same lame and halting step has characterized the progress of the fine arts in America: we are vet feeling our way; we have not yet arrived. We are an intensely practical people, though not devoid of high ideals; but the softer and finer elements in us have not as yet come to their own. Our volitional and sentimental powers are but in their infancy. Measured by the standards of either Greece or Israel, we have yet much to attain.

THE CHURCH AND BIBLE STUDY

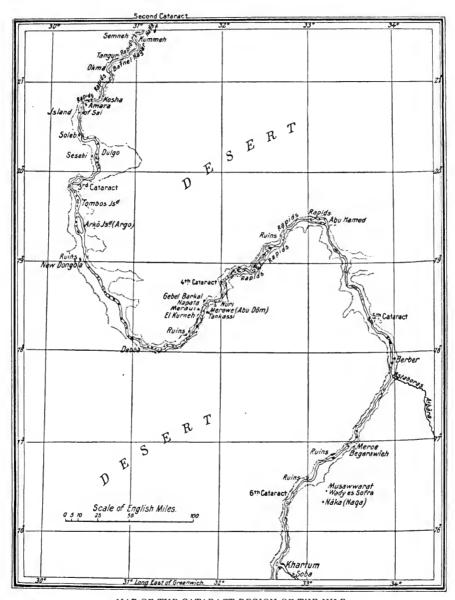
The place of the church in the task of bringing the nation up to its highest possibilities is supreme. The old description of religion as the mother of the arts and sciences has still a measure of truth. The need for inspiration and vision it is her inalienable right to sup-

ply; nowhere else is satisfaction to be found. Her task is to enable men to live courageous and God-fearing lives in the present age, to enable them to interpret the world as they know it in terms of God and goodness. To this end a knowledge of the spiritual problems and experiences of previous generations of the church is practically indispensable. We learn to perform our task by observing the performance of others who have already learned. Hence arises the value of the Bible in the religious life of the race. It furnishes us when rightly interpreted a laboratory notebook of the experiences of the greatest experts in religion the world has known. untrammeled study of this record is of supreme importance. nearer we can come to the hearts of the men whose inmost experiences are here writ down, the greater will be the benefit accruing to us. We see them fighting unflinchingly the battle of faith against enemies as real and powerful as any that ever confront us and with weapons no better and no worse than those available to us. We realize our oneness with them in the struggle that was, that is, and that ever shall be. We are emboldened by their triumphs and fortified by their example, so that we renew our own contest with an access of courage and strength. It behooves us, therefore, to further in every possible way the effort to get at the real facts regarding the saints of old, and to make them and their work intelligible to the great body of the church. This is a scientific task which in the nature of the case demands the expert guidance of specially prepared scholars, but demands also the cordial interest and co-operation of all who desire the highest ideals to prevail in our religious life.

RECOVERY AND DECIPHERMENT OF THE MONU-MENTS OF ANCIENT ETHIOPIA

JAMES HENRY BREASTED
The University of Chicago

Readers of the Old and New Testaments are familiar with the name Ethiopia, applied to that distant and mysterious kingdom of the far Upper Nile, as they find it the object of Isaiah's denunciation, or seven and a half centuries later as represented in the person of the Ethiopian eunuch converted by the apostle Philip as they rode together in the chariot. The home of this kingdom, the cataract region of the Nile, about a thousand miles of river, was never included in Egypt proper, but was slowly absorbed by the Pharaohs. By the fifteenth century B. C. the Egyptian conquest had reached the fourth cataract where the southern frontier of the Pharaohs remained for some five hundred years. The people of the region were neither pure negroes nor Egyptians. Their meager civilization was rapidly Egyptianized, but while they wrote official documents and left monuments in Egyptian hieroglyphic, they never lost their ancient Nubian language. The modern tourist who pushes up to Assuan and looks across upon the Island of Elephantine probably does not know that the Arabic of Egypt is not the tongue of the native dwellers on the island. They speak a Nubian dialect, being the northermost frontier of the Nubian population extending southward from this point, and while they understand and use Arabic in intercourse with the Egyptians, their native tongue is Nubian. I have never yet met in Egypt a European who could speak and understand spoken Nubian, though Lepsius, who published a Nuba grammar, succeeded in gaining a limited speaking acquaintance with it. Lepsius believed that the language of the ancient monuments of Ethiopia was not Nubian, but Bega, a language of the eastern desert. There has also always been an unproven assumption that the modern dialects of Nubia are directly descended from the ancient language of Pharaonic days, and that while the ancient Egyptian of the monuments was sup-



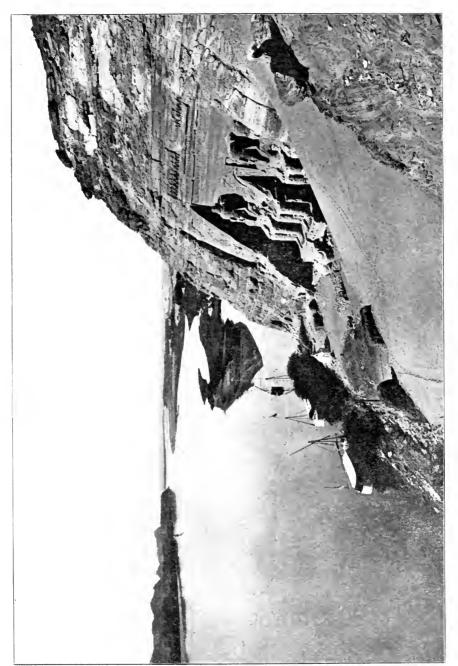
MAP OF THE CATARACT REGION OF THE NILE

From Khartoum to the Second Cataract (after the Atlas of the Egypt Exploration Fund)

The Sudan Military Railroad cuts across the desert from Halfa (second cataract) to Abu Hamed, and then follows the east bank of the river to Khartoum. The territory covered by The University of Chicago Expedition extends along the river from Naga on the south to the first cataract on the north (200 miles north of the second cataract).

planted by Arabic on the lower Nile, the early language of Nubia still survives in the cataract region, too remote to be easily submerged by the language of Islam, even though the faith of Islam is universal there.

This cataract region of over a thousand miles of Nile valley, when once in possession of the Pharaohs, was placed as a whole under a viceroy responsible to the Pharaoh and the country rapidly developed into a prosperous province, with fine towns and splendid temples. The temple of Abu Simbel is one of the most remarkable monuments surviving from the ancient Orient and the only early temple in which the architectural effect of colossal plastic can still be observed and appreciated almost as well as when it first issued from the hands of the architect. It contains numerous historical inscriptions of great importance. The temple of Soleb, built by Amenhotep III, far up in the heart of the cataract country, is one of the greatest two architectural works surviving on the Nile, the other being the temple of the same king at Luxor. Numerous other important memorials of the Pharaonic age still survive throughout the Nubian Nile. With the decline of the Pharaohs in the Twentieth Dynasty (twelfth century B. C.), the Nubians finally detached themselves from Egypt and established an independent kingdom, which by 730 B. C. was strong enough to begin the absorption of the decadent Egypt of that age. Isaiah's day the Nubian kings were the lords of Egypt. They had their capital at Napata at the foot of the fourth cataract, the city probably intended by the biblical Noph. Driven from the Delta by the invading Assyrians, the Nubians finally retired to their capital at Napata, and later even farther south to their final residence at Meroe, which became the seat of the remote and mysterious kingdom of Ethiopia as known to the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Cambyses' expedition thither met with disaster, but the Roman Petronius penetrated to Napata and destroyed the city to chastise one of the Candaces, then queen of Ethiopia. Throughout the classic world the conclusion gained currency that Ethiopia was the original seat of Nile valley civilization—a conclusion which survived until two generations ago. As a matter of fact the Egyptian veneer slowly wore If as this kingdom of the upper Nile was more and more isolated om the civilization of the north, and it was thus thrown back upon



FRONT OF THE SUN-TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL (FROM THE CLIFFS ON THE NORTH)

the barbarism of inner Africa. For some centuries after separation from Egypt its people continued to use Egyptian writing and language in state documents and on monuments. As they began to write their own language, the Nubian tongue, they slowly developed from the Egyptian Demotic a similar script of their own. The latest Egyptian hieroglyphics which we can date in Nubia are found in the temple of Dakkeh, in the inscriptions of Ergamenes, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B. C.). With the transfer of the capital under this king Ergamenes, from Napata to Meroe, the hieroglyphic suffered rapid corruption, and began to be employed on stone monuments in the writing of Nubian. Then it finally disappeared. In the chapels of the pyramids of Meroe, where Egyptian funereal reliefs still depict the old Egyptian Osirian ceremonies, the rectangular spaces left for the accompanying hieroglyphic explanations are at last left empty, as the priestly scribe no longer understood enough hieroglyphic to insert them. Here and there in such reliefs, a few lines of the new Nubian script appear instead. The use of this script will probably have continued into the seventh or eighth century of our era.

From the middle of the sixth century A. D., beginning at Philae, Nubia was rapidly Christianized, and the process continued till it included the kingdom of Aloa, with its capital at Soba on the Blue Nile, which survived far down into the Middle Ages. As Abyssinia at the sources of the Blue Nile had already long been Christianized, from Arabia there was an uninterrupted series of Christian powers from the sources of the Blue Nile northward to the Mediterranean. It was the southernmost stretch of Christianized country in early Christian history. It was by this means that the Abyssinian kingdom inherited the title "Ethiopia," to which it has no proper claim; and the Semitic Abyssinian language commonly called Ethiopic has no connection whatever with the ancient Nubian speech with which we are dealing. It is much to be desired that Semitic scholars may accustom themselves to use the term "Abyssinian" for the language of Abyssinia.

From the testimony of Eutychius, who was patriarch of Alexandria about 930 A. D., we know that after the Christianization of Nubia, it still possessed a method of writing. Two inscriptions found by

Lepsius at Soba, written in Greek letters, with five additional signs for sounds not represented in the Greek alphabet, have been supposed to be specimens of this second system of Nubian writing referred to by Eutychius. The modern Nubians never write their own language and the two systems of writing under discussion long ago ceased to be used in Nubia. When the modern Nubian wishes to write, he



TEMPLE OF TIRHAKA AT NAPATA Mentioned in II Kings 19:9)

employs both the Arabic alphabet and the Arabic language. All examples of the Christian literature in the Greek script referred to by Eutychius had in modern times disappeared, and none was known to exist. Scanty examples of the older monumental script have been found from the first cataract (Philae) to Meroe. Whether the modern language was certainly the direct descendant from the ancient language thus written could not be determined for the ancient records in the Demotic-like script have never been deciphered.

Such was the state of the entire problem, when, in the summer of 1906, Dr. Karl Schmidt came upon a few unprepossessing leaves of parchment in Cairo. They were written with Greek letters, but the language was neither Greek nor Coptic. The proper names showed clearly that the content of some of the leaves was from the New Testament. After some fruitless attempts to identify the language, the term $HP\omega\Delta HOYPOY$, of which the first part is clearly the name of Herod, led Schmidt to the recognition of the second part as the Nubian word uru, "the king." The language was clearly ancient Nubian, the first specimen of the kind ever discovered in modern times

Two different books furnished the fragments discovered by Dr. Schmidt. The first of these books was a lectionary made up of selections from the gospels and the letters of Paul. To each day are assigned a section of a Pauline letter and a portion of one of the gospels. The fragment preserved includes sixteen consecutive pages numbered from 100 to 115, and covers seven days, from the 24th to the 30th of the month Khoiakh, the fourth month of the Egyptian calendar, and the Christmas season of the Coptic church. The second book represented contained a discourse purporting to have been delivered by Jesus himself to the apostles a short time before his ascension. Being together with them on the Mount of Olives, Jesus is besought by Peter to set forth to them the mysteries of the cross. "The Living One," as Jesus is called throughout the composition, then entered upon a discourse recounting the humiliations to which he had been subjected, passing on to his future return in triumph, and the glory of those who believe in the cross. Thereupon the words, "Beloved, if ye would hear the meaning of the cross then hear its meaning," introduce a long hymn to the cross, consisting of a series of pronouncements like the following:

The Cross is the hope of Christians;

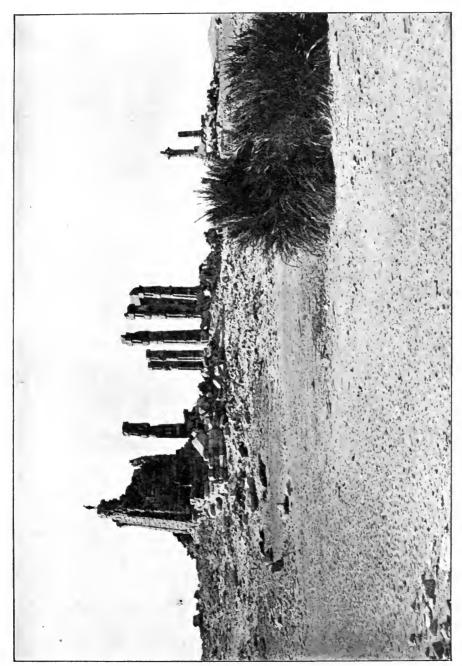
The Cross is the resurrection of the dead;

The Cross is the physician of the sick;

The Cross is the liberator of the slave;

etc., etc.

Of this second book thirty-six consecutive pages are preserved in the fragment, and fortunately they form the beginning of the book,



GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLEB FROM THE NORTH

even including the cover page. These two books then belonged to the literature of edification read by some Nubian Christian of a thousand years ago. Like so many of his modern countrymen, he may have wandered down river into Egypt, and brought the volumes with him; or they may have been found in Nubia recently, and been brought down to Egypt by one of the modern descendants of the ancient owner.

The importance of the discovery is evident. Possessing as we do the Greek and Coptic originals from which this Nubian New Testament lectionary was translated, the ancient Nubian language can be deciphered, and its earlier form established. As yet, the Greek or Coptic original from which the Discourse on the Cross was translated, has not been found in the known early Christian literature of the East; though its general character as above sketched can be discerned.

The results already accruing from a study of the new documents are important. The language in which these two books are written, with the differences which time always produces, is the same as the Nubian tongue, now spoken in the Nile valley. With the help afforded by these fragments, the inscriptions found by Lepsius at Soba have been shown by Schaefer to be also Nubian. It was therefore the Nubian tongue, essentially as we have it in spoken form today, which was the language of ancient Nubia, and the language of the far earlier, pre-Christian monuments which we find at intervals from the head of the first cataract to Khartoum. When the Christian documents discovered by Schmidt have furnished us a sufficient knowledge of ancient Nubian, therefore, it will be possible to attack the still undeciphered early inscriptions and their decipherment will carry us a thousand years back of the Christian fragments discussed. For the first time we shall then possess the history of an African negro dialect for some two thousand years; for while the Nubians are far from being of exclusively negro blood, yet their language is closely allied to that of certain tribes in Kordofan at the present day. In the Nubians, therefore, we have the link which connects Egypt with the peoples of inner Africa. When, therefore, we are in a position to read the early Nubian inscriptions, we shall be able to compare the ancient Nubian with the Egyptian and thus to determine how far, if at all, the Egyptian language of the Pharaohs was tinctured by negro speech. Such study should in large measure determine also the measure of participation of inner Africa in the rise and development of Egyptian civilization upon a Libyan basis, before the prehistoric Semitic invasion of the Nile valley had stamped a Semitic structure upon the already composite language (Libyan-Nigritic?) then spoken there. Besides these results a long-lost chapter in the history of Christianity, and another in the story of early Ethiopia as it was known to the Greeks and Romans, and even in Pharaonic days, will to some extent be recovered, when we are able to read the only written records of the remote Upper Nile.

The two years' campaign of the University of Chicago Expedition in Ancient Ethiopia has therefore been very timely. The last wellequipped expedition, capable of doing epigraphic work there, was that of the Prussians under Lepsius, sixty-five years ago. The development of the camera since that day has made a modern expedition in such regions a very different matter from that of Lepsius. great Prussian expedition, however, accomplished wonderful results with the equipment then possible. Its work was, like that of all expeditions of two generations ago, entirely selective. It selected such inscriptions as the director and his assistants found interesting or considered important after a brief examination, copied such, and left the rest. A modern expedition, with an elaborate epigraphic equipment, such as the Chicago expedition devised and carried to the field, is obligated to exhaust every surviving monument, which it can find in the course of its progress, and is able to do this with far greater speed and accuracy than was possible in the time of Lepsius. work of the Chicago expedition extended to the southernmost monuments surviving on the Nile, and continued northward through the entire cataract region, to within a few miles of the first cataract, including thus all the monuments of the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia. Their portfolios contain the first complete collection of the inscribed monuments of Ethiopia (Nubia), and when published they will form a corpus of the documents surviving in this remote kingdom.

ST. PAUL AND THE CHURCH IDEA

PROFESSOR HENRY S. NASH, D.D., Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

At the outset we put four questions to ourselves: What is revelation? What is law? What is salvation? What is the word of God and what the nature of the society that administers the divine word to the needs of mankind? The first and the fourth questions are the most decisive. What is revelation? How does the innermost reality speak home to our hearts? How does the soul of things implant in us a confidence as deep as our being? This is the meaning of the first question. And now we ask, How is the divine revelation administered?

Our Lord founded a new kind of community, a fellowship whose vital breath was the gospel, the gladdening and convincing news concerning the Kingdom of God. Through his life and death and resurrection he infused saving conviction on this point into the blood of those who believed in him and gave their life-plan into his keeping.

The outpouring of the Spirit on Whitsunday made the person of Christ inseparable from the being of God. The creative unity of God interfused with the personal being and work of Jesus—this is the essence of the creeds. It is the function of personality in all its forms to convert problems into trysting-places between the seen and the unseen. The life of Christ is the final illustration of this law. By revealing the fatherhood of God within the deepest needs of man he converted the supreme moral problem, the Kingdom of God, into the meeting-place between the divine and the human. When the belief in this kingdom becomes a compelling conviction, then and not till then is man truly saved.

The new religion carried prophetism to its final position. The first Christian sermons (Acts 2:14-21) voiced the Christian's experience and message. The prophecy of Joel (3:1-5) is fulfilled. The invigorating and regenerating spirit is poured out on every member of the community, from the least to the greatest. Even the old men,

weighed down with the burden of years and disillusionment, even they see the glorifying vision.

Under the mental conditions of the time and place the belief in the masterhood of Jesus which inspired this prophetic teaching issued inevitably in the conviction that he would soon return to rule the world in righteousness. This belief became a fixed mental illusion in which all shared. But this intellectual error was the psychological consequence of the most magnificent outburst of moral and spiritual enthusiasm the world has ever seen.

The belief in the immediate insetting of divine perfection into human nature was so absorbing, it brought the "far-off divine event" so near, that consciousness gave way to ecstasy. This seems to be the essential meaning of the extraordinary event called "speaking with tongues." The supreme object of human desire was so overwhelmingly real that common-sense, taking wings, became vision, while every-day speech was exalted into the inarticulate.

Here, then, at the birth of the church, the distinguishing quality of our religion shines out clearly. It is this. Man's need of God and his need of his fellow-man become a single and indivisible need. Man's hunger and thirst for God can only be permanently satisfied within the bounds of an inclusive fellowship. The church's long life, her varied organization, her ennobling and entangling alliances with the forces of history, her fine yet perilous insistence on orthodoxy or straight thinking about the deepest meaning and the final issues of things, may confuse us on the question of her fundamental function. For it is a law of history, as certain as the law of gravitation, that the means long used to serve an end become in course of time an end in themselves. So the machinery of the church is very apt to identify itself with the essential nature of the church. But in the light of Whitsunday the fundamental significance of the church idea is plain. The church of Christ exists to bring the Kingdom of God down out of the clouds, to make belief in it a controlling force in human affairs.

In her first years the church was inevitably Jewish both in feeling and in framework. To convert the Jewish nation to Christ was an imperious necessity. Without this the reign of the Savior seemed unthinkable. The forms of thought were therefore Jewish. But the soul of the new community was infinitely greater than Judaism. It

was that power of the living God—made intimate with everyday life by the life of Christ—which exalts men of all sorts and conditions above their inheritance and their achievements, and so makes possible a comprehensive fellowship. Yet it remained for Paul to distinguish between the substance and the trappings, and so to found the Catholic church. Ranke has finely said that in the life of Alexander universal history is coextensive with biography. The remark may be applied here. The final turn in the history of our religion is identical with the life of a single individual.

Nothing but familiarity has prevented our seeing what an extraordinary thing it is that so considerable a part of the New Testament scriptures consists of letters. Real letters they are, too, not dogmatic monologues or personal musings. This is a unique fact in the constitution of "sacred books." It has no parallel. May we not venture to ask whether God could have indicated more clearly the meaning and the method of true revelation?

Of the fourteen letters attributed to Paul, Hebrews cannot possibly have been written by him, and the genuineness of the letters to Timothy and Titus is so seriously assailed that it is unsafe for us to use them in our study of the apostle's mind. But the letters beginning with I Thessalonians and ending with Ephesians constitute a wonderfully sensitive and expressive body of thought. It changes with the raw material of human nature and motive which it has to handle, yet a single conception is always in control. And in the end the church idea comes out into the open, clear and commanding. A better chance for laboratory work upon the nature of authority, as the Bible conceives it, could not be desired.

In I Thessalonians (2:14-16) the religious equality of Jew and gentile is assumed; and to that proposition the apostle devoted his life. It is often said that there is an emotional gulf between the Thessalonian and Roman letters. This deep difference, however, is only an appearance. And the appearance is due to a one-sided Protestantism which takes the doctrine of justification by faith out of its Pauline context, making it serve an individualistic conception of salvation. But that supreme truth, in St. Paul's thinking, is the soul within the body of experience which makes possible a universal society and fellowship.

In the Corinthian, Galatian, and Roman letters we find Paul fighting at close quarters with Judaizing Christianity. Now the main fault of Judaism was that it put the Bible-scholar and churchman in the place of the prophet. But Christianity in its essence was the completion of prophetism. Hence Paul found himself in irrepressible conflict with Jewish institutionalism. For Judaism, like all forms of infallibleism, built itself up on the belief in a revelation finished and closed. As a result, it would fain have suppressed piercing criticism of the Establishment. Could Judaizing Christianity have had its way, it would have quenched the creative spirit.

Thus brought under pressure, St. Paul carried the word "faith" to its ultimate position. His experience demonstrates the truth that this masterword of our religion cannot disclose its deepest meaning to him who thinks of nothing but the salvation of his own soul. To penetrate to its innermost resources we must start where the apostle started. We must follow the biblical conception of "righteousness" along its historical line of growth.

When the Catholic church established herself in clear separation from the heathen state and when, soon after, she monasticized herself, the two great terms "righteousness" and "justice" were doomed to run separate careers, justice being the ideal of the statesman and righteousness the ideal of the churchman. But the men of the Bible, like the men of Athens and of Rome, had a single term where we have two.

It is true that between Paul and Hebrew prophetism there had intervened a great religious movement that shifted the center of gravity from the nation to the individual. Moreover, his immense personality not only appropriated this individualizing tendency but strengthened it. None the less, when he approaches the problem of human perfection, he is on the prophetic line of advance. In no sense is he an individualistic modern. In his mind the personal and the organic aspects of life are instinctively related. Therefore his decisive question, How shall man attain righteousness and moral certitude? may be put in this way: How shall man secure perfect confidence regarding the attainment of personal and social perfection? The answer runs (Rom. 1:17; Hab. 2:4): Righteousness cometh of faith.

In our endeavor to bring this proposition to bear on our conception of the church, we must guard against two tendencies. We will take care not to be victimized by religious individualism, and we will see to it that the credal conception of faith does not dominate the prophetic conception. We will not, indeed, adopt the contemporary fashion of running down all corporate statements of belief. As students of history we know that the creeds have been indispensable forces making for clearness of thought and continuity of purpose. But credalism tends to become hostile or indifferent to vital prophetism. The consciousness of penetrating though unseen reality and that grand passion for the Kingdom of God which give the Christian religion the note of moral sublimity—these things constitute the prophetic view of the divine and human life. The creeds must serve that view, not obscure or enfeeble it.

Faith, in the Pauline sense, if separated from the body of divine promises given to the Hebrew prophets, becomes meaningless. "No matter how many are the promises of God, in Christ is found the affirmation of them all" (II Cor. 1:20). Faith and hope, being married to one another by God, cannot be divorced. Christians possess a "hope that does not put them to shame" (Rom. 5:5). The mastertext (Rom. 8:24) suffices: "We Christians were saved for the great hope." Christ, when we put our plan of life into his keeping, takes human nature as his material and creates a new race. Christians are a folk dedicated and devoted to the supreme hope. God, in pure mercy and free grace, offers the Kingdom of God to the heart of man. Man makes, through trust in divine power and grace, a complete assent to God's offer. He grapples the great hope to his heart and is delivered (Rom. 8:15) from all his fears.

St. Paul did not write the Epistle to the Hebrews. But we may quote and paraphrase the words of that epistle (Heb. 11:1) as the best working definition of faith. "Faith is that divine power in man which gives body and reality to things hoped for and creates an irresistible conviction regarding things unseen." Through faith the gospel is revealed as God's power (Rom. 1:16; I Cor. 1:25), enabling man to realize the ideal of righteousness and right.

Once more we must remind ourselves that revelation is not an abstract process. On the contrary it is in the fullest sense a practical

process. Indeed, it is the sovereign form of the practical, the one force that can control and co-ordinate human experience. Its test and its issue are found in the foundation of a truly universal society. To the Hebrew prophets the divine unity disclosed itself as the ground of the nation's unity. To Paul—the typical Christian prophet—the divine unity, incarnated in the person of Christ, is equally, nay, even more, concrete. It is the base of human unity at large, the ground and root of an inclusive and comprehensive fellowship. It must, of course, be a religious fellowship, for nothing but the life of God in the soul can resist and overcome our inbred sin and selfishness and snobbery. But it is a true fellowship, making the unity of humanity the becoming and convincing evidence of a vital monotheism.

This is the center of gravity in Paul's thought. The supreme mystery is the existence of a society wherein both Jew and gentile, Greek and barbarian, cultured and ignorant are united (Rom. 11:25-36; Eph. 2:11, 3:12; Gal. 3:27-28; Col. 3:11). Long after Paul's day, when Christian prophetism was in deep decline and Greek philosophy in the ascendant, the center of gravity in the Christian's consciousness of mystery shifted. The sovereign mystery came to be the inner nature of God. A profoundly significant change! Men are distinguished by the things they wonder at. The philosophic reason, more concerned with problems of knowledge than with problems of life, strives to look into the inner being of God, and under the strain forgets or sidetracks the social question. But the prophetic reason knows of just one place where the inner being of God can be approached, namely in the deep of religious and social fellowship.

Protestants have long declared that the central article of belief, the article by which the church of Christ stands or falls, is justification by faith. If Protestants have nothing harder to do than to criticize the Roman Catholic church, this platform will serve. But if they have something far less luxurious, vastly more difficult to do, if they must realize the gospel, then for them and for Christians of all names the central and controlling article of faith is the belief in the religious and social unity of mankind. That is the test of the Christian church. That and nothing else is the fundamental function of the church when brought into contact and competition with other great organizing ideals like the state and nation.

The apostle criticized the Jewish church, his own mother-church, because it substituted orthodoxy and the pride of religious certitude for the moral passion of prophetism (Rom. 2:16-29). It canonized, as infallibleism invariably and inevitably does, things outgrown. It allowed the house-servant (Gal. 3:24) to dominate the creative spirit, the master of the house. It covered up moral incompetence with religious finality; so easy is it for a great religious establishment, possessing immense vested interests, to hide moral bankruptcy behind a majestic religious façade.

Human unity, is it thinkable? Is it believable? Living in the midst of a society honeycombed with snobbery, looking out on world-politics dominated by the tyranny of trade and the lust for power, can we, unless we would canonize the ostrich and escape from the enemies of conscience by hiding our heads under a bush, can we believe that human unity is possible? Is it not something we must be content to dream about? Were it not better to commend our problem to the angels? To satisfy ourselves with aspirations after sainthood? Let us, then, take the easier way. Let us enrich ourselves with religious certitude and imposing orthodoxies. But human unity! let it go until we get to heaven.

The great Apostle, however, found the proving-ground of the divine unity in human unity. Monotheism of any other sort is a notional thing, not a creative and organizing principle within consciousness. Paul's working ethics make this plain. When we first meet the Pauline trilogy (I Thess. 1:3) the sequence is Faith, Love, Hope. But when his thought has ripened, when he has learned that the local congregation is the battle-ground where the issues of vital monotheism must be fought out, then the order changes (I Cor. 13:13) and love, that is to say, the creative and organizing will of the people redeemed by the Lord, becomes the last word regarding knowledge and life.

Because the Jewish church could not be separated from the Jewish conception of the Holy Scriptures and of inspiration, the apostle was driven to criticize the canonic Old Testament. Resisting the attempt of Jewish Christianity to put the new wine in the old wineskins, he declared that the ritual and ceremonial elements of the Old Testament were no part of the abiding word of God. He described them

as spiritual rudiments, (Gal. 4:9) which the religion of the spirit had outgrown. Had he been using our language, he would have said that infallibleism in all its forms, scriptural and ecclesiastical alike, invariably sins against the spirit, by treating temporary positions as final and unchangeable positions.

But the full bearings of the church idea, the grounds of its supremacy amongst the organizing ideals of mankind, do not clearly come into light until the apostle's thought, colliding with Gnosticism, puts itself on record in the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians. Gnosticism was a widespread and widely varied movement. There was, however, one fundamental quality common to all its forms. It was dualistic. Now dualism is the root heresy of all ages. And that is so because it is a frank confession of inability to believe that the divine power and meaning of things is a real presence on earth. The real world is held to be a world above and beyond this world. Only by asceticism and speculative mysticism can the redeemed man climb the ladder that carries the soul into the region where the full meanings of life are found. It is evident that the mass of men, chained to the task of living and keeping others alive, cannot climb this ladder. So, if Gnosticism be a true interpretation, it necessarily follows that the church, the society of those seeking salvation, must split in two. A small inner circle of people favored by nature and endowed with large leisure, may touch at first hand the saving reality. But for the mass of men there is no such possibility. So then, when the prophetic view of revelation goes out of consciousness, the unity of the church quickly follows.

Under the pressure of this heresy the apostle worked out the church idea. The church is the visible body of Christ (I Cor. 12:14; Rom. 12:5; Col. 1:18; Eph. 1:23). Her life is the saving embodiment of divine reality, the clear expression $(\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\rho\omega\mu a$: Eph. 1:23) of the divine life that fills human life with meaning and value and promise.

Where lies the real world? How shall I possess a kind of knowledge from which reality does not shrink away, leaving me brain-sick and heart-sick? Where abides the divine heart of things? Whither runs the approach to it? How may I come into quickening touch with it? How shall I be saved from all my fears? our four questions reduce to a single question. And the prophet's answer runs, Not by

climbing the mystic's ladder! The man who, seeking the divine, turns absentee from history, hath left the divine behind him. In the deep of common need and fellowship, there and there alone the divine being and beauty shine clear. There and there alone can we secure a confidence that death and hell cannot shake.

The sum of our studies is this. The inspiring and informing power which gives the Scriptures their mastery amongst the world's sacred books is Hebrew and Christian prophetism. It is true that the Bible is not pure prophecy. The canonic Old Testament is the result of a compromise between the prophet and the Jewish churchman. Even in the New Testament we find a Pauline letter (I Tim.), not written by Paul, in which a catholic churchman deals in detail with the inevitable problems of discipline and government. But this only serves to place the Bible deeper in history. It also serves to bring out the truth that the Scriptures are a body of which the word of God is the soul. And the word of God, the word that saves and heals, is the spirit of prophecy and its incarnation, the Christ.

It is certain that the prophet himself knows nothing of infallibility. A superb experience of reality and a radiant certitude concerning supreme moral issues make him what he is. But certitude and infallibility are not the same thing. It is the churchman who has imposed upon the word of God the attribute of infallibility, and in so doing has imitated the contemporaries of Jesus who built the tombs of prophets dead and dulled their ears to prophets living.

What now is the relation between the Bible and the church? Down to the Reformation period, it was the established opinion that Bible and church constituted a single organism of saving truth. An infallible church administering an infallible Bible was the rule of life for the people who sought salvation. But the Reformation shattered this unity. The infallible Bible was used as siege artillery to batter down the walls of the infallible church. And now? Is not Protestantism learning and proving that the infallible Scriptures cannot act their part except on the stage of an infallible church? Do we not know that the doctrine of infallibility is an indivisible body of belief? The infallible church and the infallible Bible stand and fall together. From all sides the sound of their falling assails our ears.

But, when the doctrine of infallibility goes, the Protestant doctrine

of private judgment follows close after. It is as impossible as the infallible church. Indeed it is the existence of a church claiming infallibility in things spiritual which makes private judgment historically inevitable. When, however, the entire mental fabric of infallibility is pulled down, the historical excuse for the doctrine of private judgment is taken away. In science there is no such thing as private judgment. All reverent students of nature constitute a republic of free and humble explorers. In logic private judgment would be a monstrous chimera. The individual mind has no standing and no future except within the communion of all who strive to think straight and clear, and within whose thinking the saving necessities of thought are disclosed. Even so must it needs be in things spiritual and moral. Outside the living church, the corporate and continuous consciousness of redeemed humanity, there is no such thing as authority.

Outside the church is no salvation! A fateful, almost a fearful saying. But the terrible things done in its name are due to the church's mania for infallibility and to the resultant divorce between vital religion and magnificent morality. Let us, however, banish infallibility and individualism together. Then we will as soon think of going to Robinson Crusoe's island in quest of culture as think of seeking salvation and certitude outside the church.

Certitude—that is the key word. Questions regarding the sacraments and the ministry are settled beforehand by our views on certitude. Newman, seeking certitude in a world filled with pain and sin and doubt, reasons himself into the infallible church, while the prophet, holding his ground amongst a people of unclean lips, receives there, in the dust and heat of life, the inspiration of the living God, the touch of the fire from the altar of eternal life and hope, which cleanses his lips and fills him with irresistible conviction.

Certitude, spiritual and moral, can be given in but one way. In the deep of man's need of a sane and rightful and hopeful society the living God reveals himself. Out of the deep of this need we cry to God. And God answers our cry. Historical criticism is humanizing the Bible, making it at home in history. The social question, subjecting creeds and orthodoxy and churchmanship to a fiery moral judgment, is forcing Christians to ask whether they really and truly believe in the Kingdom of God. Criticism and the social question together are slowly but surely shifting the center of gravity in our religion and our theology. Meditation on the inner being of God may easily become the most dangerous because the most respectable of untaxed luxuries. But meditation on the unity of humanity—here is a theme that thrills us like the sound of a trumpet. To grapple the Kingdom of God to the heart of man, to make the gospel as real as the sunshine and as widespread—here is a task and an inspiration that shall create in due time a new race of men.

The churches may seem to undo the church. But the church is within the churches. And just in proportion as we get back to the ground of living prophecy, where the word of God was first published and where it shall be published again, will the churches feel the ill-fitting robes of unreal authority slipping from them. Dooming themselves to a moral task transcending all human power and filled with the grace and power of God, the blessed art of keeping secondary things in their proper place will be given them. They will draw closer and closer together. And out of the midst of the churches the church idea will break forth upon men and women of high degree with compelling power and beauty.

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT XII. ATONEMENT IN THE WRITINGS ASCRIBED TO JOHN

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It is beyond the scope of the present discussion to enter into the question of the authorship and date of the Fourth Gospel, the epistles commonly called John's, and the Apocalypse. It is assumed, though without attempt to argue the case, first, that all these writings are among the later of the New Testament books, and hence call for consideration at about this point, and second, that the gospel and first epistle proceed from the same author, or at least from the same school of thought, and that therefore what they severally have to say about atonement may be considered together. The ideas of the book of Revelation about atonement must be treated separately, since it cannot be confidently affirmed that this also is from the same school and period as the gospel and epistle. With the second and third epistles we need not concern ourselves, since they have nothing to say about atonement. The evidence of the gospel concerning the thought of John the Baptist and Jesus has already been considered.

That the author of the Gospel and First Epistle of John believed that there was alienation between God and men and hence need of atonement, is perfectly clear. "The whole world lieth in the evil one" (I John 5:19). "The wrath of God abideth on him who obeyeth not the Son" (John 3:36). "He that believeth not God hath made him a liar" (I John 5:10). The general term for the cause of this alienation is sin (I John 2:4; 15:17). The specific forms of sin most commonly spoken of are the hatred of one's brother, love of the world and the things that are in the world, and most especially rejection of Jesus, denial that he is the Christ, not believing the witness that God hath borne concerning his Son, not obeying the Son. The central condemnatory element in sin is the rejection of the light that God has given to men. "This is the condemnation, that the light has come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the

light because their deeds were evil" (John 3:19). This is identical with the doctrine of Paul that the wrath of God is against those who hold down the truth in iniquity.

The condition of forgiveness is very definitely stated in the first epistle. "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness (I John 1:3, 9). The use of the two terms faithful and righteous to describe that in God which assures the forgiveness of the sinner and his cleansing from unrighteousness is of great significance. If with Westcott we join the word "faithful" with "forgive us our sins," and the word "righteous," with "cleanse us from all unrighteousness," the fidelity of God to his promises assures us of forgiveness, and his righteousness, his moral uprightness, involving hatred of sin and desire that men shall cease from sinning, carries with it the moral purification of the confessor. In that case there underlies the passage the thought, first, that God has promised to forgive him who confesses his sins to be sins, and so repudiates them, and that he will keep this promise, and, second, that God loving righteousness and hating sin will certainly avail himself of the confession of sin on the part of any sinner to cleanse that one from sin. If on the other hand the two predicates "faithful and righteous" are both related to both the consequent phrases, to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness, then both God's fidelity to his promise and his righteousness, meaning his recognition of the moral status of men and his treatment of them in accordance with that status, involve both forgiveness and cleansing. Upon this interpretation which is perhaps the more probable one, it is involved in God's faithfulness and righteousness that he should recognize the changed moral status of one who confesses his sin, not continuing his disapproval and wrath toward one who is no longer purposing to sin, but approving and restoring to favor such a one, and accomplishing the moral cleansing which repentance makes possible. Thus, in Pauline phrase, the judgment of God is according to truth.

The converse and complement of this teaching is expressed in a later passage. "He that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous" (I John 3:7). The assertion is evidently directed

against those who continue in sin and justify themselves in so doing while still claiming to be children of God. The term righteous in the first clause must be taken as at least including the thought of acceptableness to God; for otherwise the sentence is mere tautology. He whose conduct is righteous, he only is righteous, approved of God. It is indeed evidently one of the chief purposes of the epistle to insist upon this doctrine of the essentially ethical as well as religious character of the Christian life. There is no forgiveness of sins while we refuse to acknowledge our sins. There is no acceptance with God while we do not work righteousness. The righteousness of the Christian is not an attached or fictitious thing. All unrighteousness is sin, and he who professes to love God but hates his brother is a liar. Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother. But he who confesses and repudiates his sin, he finds forgiveness.

That the epistle also teaches that sins are forgiven for his name's sake (2:12) in no way modifies this teaching. The pronoun "his" doubtless refers to God, who in 1:9 has been said to be faithful and righteous to forgive sins. The name stands for the character of God as there set forth, his faithfulness and righteousness. The meaning then is that because of his faithfulness and righteousness he has forgiven their sins. Confession of them is of course taken for granted and the passage in effect repeats the thought of 1:8, 9.1

The teaching of 5:16 of the epistle, "If a man see his brother sinning a sin not unto death, he shall ask and God shall give him life for them that sin not unto death," is twofold: that sin is forgivable, there is a sin that is not unto death; and that prayer avails to secure forgiveness for another. This, however, cannot be taken to exclude those conditions of forgiveness either in the sinner or in the work of Christ which we elsewhere find clearly set forth by the writer.

The doctrine of this epistle is, then, that acceptance with God, reconciliation with him, is conditioned upon a change of life to right-eousness, but that he who does by confession of his sin turn his back

¹ If, as some think, the pronoun refers to Christ, the expression is brachylogical, meaning, "Your sins are forgiven you because you have believed in the name of the Son of God," i. e., accepted him as the Son of God. If this is the thought, the full significance of the passage will appear only when we consider further the relation of Jesus to forgiveness.

upon his sin is forgiven and enters upon a new life in which there is cleansing from all unrighteousness.

Thus far we have dealt with passages which speak of forgiveness without associating it with the sufferings of Jesus. It remains to examine those which indicate the writer's thought concerning the relation of Jesus to forgiveness of sin, and the meaning of his death. The following passages from the first epistle call for consideration:

If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all unrighteousness (1:17).

If any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world (2:1, 2).

And ye know that he was manifested to take away sins (3:5).

Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren (3:16).

Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another (4:9-II).

It is of course difficult to distinguish sharply between those elements of the gospel that are traceable to John the Baptist and to Jesus, and that which belongs to the later author. But account must be taken at least of such passages as John 1:29; 3:16 ff.; 3:36; 19:34.

Again we must forego extended interpretation and endeavor to sum up the unmistakable elements of the writer's thought:

- 1. The sending of Jesus into the world was an expression of the love of God for the world, and was for the salvation of the world. If God so loved us we ought also to love one another.
- 2. The death of Jesus was an expression of his own love for men, and an example to us that as he loved so also ought we to love, and be ready to lay down our lives for the brethren. This is in accordance with the teaching of Jesus himself that his death was in obedience to a principle which ought to rule in other men's lives also as in his.
- 3. Jesus is the propitiation for the sins of those who believe in him, and for the sins of the whole world. The necessity of propitiation for sins implies that sins have created alienation, that God is displeased with sinners, that they are objects of his wrath. It is the

mission of Jesus Christ to remove this alienation and bring about reconciliation. Yet he does not do this by changing the disposition of God toward sinners. It is God who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in him should not perish. It is God who sent his Son to be the propitiation for sins. In his love the Son is the expression of the Father's love for the sinful world. Nor does he become the propitiation for the sins of the world in that he provided some objectively available compensation for the sins of the world. For it is emphatically affirmed that they only are at peace with God, who do not deny but confess, and thereby repudiate, their sins, who love as God loves, who being born of God sin not, but work righteousness. We must understand therefore that he becomes propitiatory through the effecting of a moral change in those who become reconciled to God through him. And this view of the case is the more clearly seen to be that of the writer, when we note that he says that the Son was manifested "to take away sins," the context making it clear that to take away sins is to cause them to cease. It is further confirmed by the statement that the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all unrighteousness. For while the blood undoubtedly conveys a reference to the death of Jesus in the sense that it designates his shed blood, yet alike the general usage of the Old Testament, in which blood is the symbol of life, and especially the language of the gospel in the sixth chapter, make it evident that the blood of Jesus is the symbol of his life, which may be imparted to and appropriated by those who believe in him, and who through such appropriation become like him in character, living by the same principle of life. This principle of life he disclosed pre-eminently in that he laid down his life for men. It is the principle of love, and in his exemplification he both revealed the love of God, for God is love, and the one principle by which all human lives should be lived.

It is worth observing that the epistle nowhere says that the death of Jesus is propitiatory. He is propitiatory and his death is vicarious but the interpretation of these statements which consistently accounts for them all is that the death of Jesus is effective in that it discloses that principle of living which being the principle of God's own life must become the principle of human lives in order that they may be reconciled to God, and that it so reveals this principle that they who

believe on the Son of God in whom it is revealed become partakers of his life.

It is from this point of view that we must understand the statement that if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. The sentence refers not to the world in general, but to those who have confessed their sins and are living righteous lives. If such fall into sin, they have an advocate with the Father, their sin does not utterly separate them from God. The life of Jesus Christ the righteous with whom they have fellowship pleads for them. And he is the propitiation for their sins. And not for theirs only, but for any who will come into life-relationship with him.

From this point of view also it becomes evident that the testimony of John the Baptist concerning Jesus, "Behold the lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world," might mean for this writer, Behold the innocent one who will suffer not for his own sin but for that of others, and who suffering thus will win men from their sin, thus causing sins to cease. But as to the meaning of this passage see more fully in the *Biblical World*, May, 1908, pp. 351 ff.

The doctrine of the atonement taught by the writer of the Epistle and Gospel of John is, we conclude, this: that the sinner is reconciled to God through confessing his sins, believing in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and appropriating his spirit as manifested preeminently in his laying down his life on behalf of men.

It is not the immediate purpose of the Johannine Apocalypse to set forth either the cause of alienation between God and sinful men, or a doctrine of the basis of forgiveness. Yet it is clearly implied in many passages, both that there is such alienation and that reconciliation is possible. The present discussion is limited to the consideration of this latter matter and the relation of Christ to it, i. e., to atonement and the part which Jesus has in it.

The passages that specially call for consideration are the following: 1:6-8; 5:6, 9, 12; 6:16, 17; 7:14; 13:9; 14:1, 4; 17:14; 19:7-9.

These passages repeatedly speak of the Lamb that was slain, or that stood as having been slain. There can be no doubt that this is a title for Jesus Christ. For it is of Jesus Christ specifically that it is said in 1:6, that he "loveth us and loosed us from our sins by his blood," and to the Lamb it is said in 5:9, "For thou wast slain, and

didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation." By his blood therefore, meaning his blood shed in his death, it is taught that Jesus redeemed men from their sins. The thought and phraseology are similar to the language of Paul in Rom. 3:24 f., "through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus whom God set forth in his blood;" and still more to that of I Peter 1:18, "Knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ." Which of the two ideas of redemption, that of Romans, which is probably redemption from the condemnation of sin, or that of I Peter, which is clearly redemption from an evil life, the apocalyptist has in mind is not perfectly clear. Nor is it wholly clear how Jesus' death accomplishes redemption. The explanation is possibly to be found in 7:14, "These are they which come out of the great tribulation; and they washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." This language seems clearly to refer to a moral purification, and if the washing is thought of as taking place in the blood of the Lamb, this can scarcely be other than a highly figurative expression for moral purification through the all-cleansing influence of that moral life of the Christ which he manifested in his death.2 That the cleansed robes are the symbol of righteous character is made quite clear from 19:7-9, "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. And it was given unto her that she should array herself in fine linen, bright and pure; for the fine linen is the righteous acts of the saints."

One other aspect of the conception of the Lamb also deserves mention. When the sixth seal is opened the wicked say to the rocks and to the mountains, "Fall on us and hide us from the face of him

² Weiss thinks that "in the blood" denotes not the element in which the washing takes place, but that through which those who come out of the great tribulation were enabled to cleanse their robes, the cleansing itself taking place in their martyrdom. In substantiation of this view, Weiss appeals to 12:11, "And they overcame him (Satan) because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the word of their testimony, and they loved not their life even unto death." In this latter passage clearly, and if it furnishes the clue to the interpretation of the former, then in that also, the martyrs win their victory, cleanse their robes, through the influence of the shed blood of Jesus, that is, through participating in that spirit with which he also endured the cross.

that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of their wrath is come" (6:16, 17). And in the great judgment those who were not written in the book of life (elsewhere called the Lamb's book of life) were cast into the lake of fire.

It thus appears that in the thought of the apocalyptist:

- 1. Those who sin are punished. They are the objects of the wrath of the Lamb.
- 2. They who have been cleansed from sin, whose robes are clean, being of the fine linen of righteous acts, become the bride of the Lamb.
- 3. Men are cleansed from sin; their robes are washed; they are purchased unto God to be his people; they overcome Satan because of (or through) the blood of the Lamb that was slain; and by this is meant, apparently, through participation on their part in that moral life, that attitude toward sin and the world, which Jesus manifested in laying down his life.

GALILEE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

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From whatever aspect we approach the study of Galilee, our conclusions have the most vital interest in so far as they cause us to picture this land when it became the home of him who is pre-eminently "The Man of Galilee." If anything can enable us to see what he saw, to be influenced as he must have been, or to reconstruct in our imagination the human life of him who is our example for all the ages, then our efforts are not in vain. We may also recall in passing that the same environment profoundly influenced the apostles and many members of the infant church.

In a previous article we dealt with the subject of the size of Galilee in the time of Christ. It was a small land, by no means so large as the natural boundaries would suggest. If we may judge from the description of Josephus, the southern boundary was, for practical purposes, rather the northern than the southern edge of the great plain. The region described as "Lower Galilee" was all included, but the northern boundary traversed the mountain region on a line drawn from the deep Wady Hindaj (just south of Kades) on the east to the neighborhood of el Jish, and thence south along the line of Jebal Jermak till these mountains abut on Lower Galilee. All north and west of this line was Tyrian territory (as was Carmel on the southwest) with doubtless scattered Jewish communities here and there, like that we read of as existing at Caesarea Philippi. Although the mountain district of Safed belonged to the Galilee of Christ, yet we have no proof from the gospels that he ever visited this district.

The most striking thing about this region is the way it was hemmed in on all sides by hostile neighbors. How much the Jews hated these gentiles may be seen in the pages of Josephus where he describes how

¹ Xyloth (now Iksal) is mentioned by Josephus as on the boundary, and Gaba (now Sheikh Abriek) appears to have been a kind of frontier settlement at the western end of the plain.

they rose and massacred them all over the land. The Tyrians, as Josephus calls them—or, as they are called in the New Testament.² the Syrophenicians—lay in contact with Jewish Galilee all along the northern and western borders. Tewish villages for miles must have faced villages of an alien race and faith, and doubtless in all the larger urban resorts the followers of different faiths were then, as today, in little semi-hostile cliques. Ever present on the eastern frontier and invading the lowland in places, especially along the Jordan, were the nomadic bedawin. All along the southern frontier Galilee borders by an ill-defined boundary upon the territory of the unfriendly Samaritans. Besides the Semitic elements, many Greeks and thoroughly Grecized Syrians must have been distributed all over the land. Scythopolis and Gadara, both counted to Galilee in a loose kind of way, were two of the great cities of the Decapolis; here, and all along the eastern shores of the lake, Greek influence was widely diffused. At Tiberias was a newly erected city, pagan and predominantly Roman. In all the political machinery, in military organization and in much that makes for civilization, the Romans were much in evidence. Only perhaps in the quieter village life of such secluded places as Nazareth were Jewish ideals preserved more pure.

In such surroundings the Galileans appear to have developed marked characteristics of their own. It must be remembered that this region ceased to be Israelitish after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom, and even as late as Maccabean times the settlers there were so few and ill-protected that Simon brought them all away for safety during his struggles with the heathen (I Macc. 5:21). It is surmised that it was resettled in the reign of Aristobulus I.³ Between that time and the days of Christ the Jewish inhabitants of Galilee must have flourished exceedingly, but under conditions which would encourage independence of character, resourcefulness and readiness to defend themselves and their property. Their comparatively small numbers, surrounded on all sides by hostile religions, would

² Mark 7:26

³ If the suggestion of Schürer is correct that the Iturea conquered by that monarch was Galilee. It is quite probable that some proportion of the Galileans were proselytes from the non-Israelites of the district, but there is no reason to think the numbers from this source were large.

naturally make them tenacious of their own religious customs; while their isolation from Jerusalem would, one might expect, produce some differences in religious customs in the direction of less stress on minor points of detail. The history of Josephus and the references in talmudic literature to the Galilean Jews agree in showing that this was the case.

In order to picture the district it is necessary to form some idea of the density of the population. This has been a subject of considerable controversy. While it is impossible to give figures of any certainty, there are certain points which may guide us to some conclusion.

There is no question whatever that the population was considerably more than that of today. Galilee was a country of rich fertility and very highly cultivated;4 even today when so much is neglected no part of Palestine is more productive. Extensive tracts now given over entirely to brushwood or thistles might once again be converted into splendid groves of olives and figs; the terracing of the hills is everywhere neglected, the bare rock showing over miles of gentle slopes which once were vineyards and orchards. How suited is the land for vine-culture is shown today by the results obtained in the Tewish colonies around Safed. Something of the ancient fame⁵ of Galilee as a producer of olive oil is maintained down to modern times by the magnificent groves of what the natives call "Roman" olives near Rameh. The natural resources of the land have been previously referred to more in detail. But while allowing that the population was considerably greater than today, it is difficult to accept the numbers given by Josephus. In his works it is stated⁶ that in Galilee there were 204 cities and villages, and in another passage he says: "Moreover the cities lie here very thick; and the very many villages are everywhere so full of people by the richness of the soil that the very least of them contain above 15,000 inhabitants."7 Dr. Merrill in his well-known book, Galilee in the Time of Christ,8 argues that this statement may be literally correct and that Galilee actually contained a population of upward of three millions. great majority of those who have looked into the question the statements of Josephus are, as they stand, manifestly absurd.

⁴ B. J., III, iii, 2. 5 B. J., II, xxi, 2; Deut. 33:34.

⁶ Vita, 45.

⁷ B. J., III, iii, 2.

⁸ P. 62.

numbers may be a wilful exaggeration, which, considering they were so easy of refutation, seems hardly possible; or the statement about the 15,000 is misplaced by an error in copying and ought to apply to the cities only. But in any case the statement, as it stands, is a precarious one on which to base any calculation of total population.

Galilee today is full of villages. One of 1,500 inhabitants is considered a very large one indeed, and some of the villages have as few as 50 adult inhabitants. The mean population of the thirty-nine villages of the Safed district, including all inhabited centers except Safed itself, is 280 or, counting in the young children not included in the census, about 500 inhabitants. The largest towns in the whole of Galilee, with the solitary exception of Safed (23,000 inhabitants) contain a smaller population than 15,000. But it may be argued that the villages of those days were very much larger. This is not the testimony of the existing ruins, mostly shapeless heaps of stones scattered all over the land. First, it may be noted that these ruins are most plentiful not in the district we are considering, but rather in the environs of Tyre. Secondly, it is evident that they belong to various ages; some to villages occupied before New Testament times, and not in the days of Christ (as may be proved by the pottery fragments); and others, a much larger number, are purely Arab remains from the centuries just before, during and after the Crusades. It has never been systematically done, but if the khurbets (i. e., the ruins) of Galilee were catalogued according to their antiquity, I believe—judging from those I have myself examined—that considerably less than half would show evidence of belonging to the period we are now considering.

When we come to the extent of these ruins a still more striking thing is noticeable. Very many of them are exceedingly small, representing indeed little but the ruined walls of a single group of buildings; and as a whole most of them cover an area about the same as that covered by a modern village of medium size. They are manifestly not the ruins of considerable towns. Were the statements in Josephus correct, we should find enormous areas of ruins covering acres. Such is the case in a few places, for example at Beisan (Scythopolis), Tiberias and Suffuriah (Sepphoris). Further, at the identified sites of many of the more important towns we see an area of ruin

quite consistent with the remains of large villages or small towns. Salamis, Bersabe (if at Abu Sheb^ca), Kefr Anan, Cabul, Abela, Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida (Julias), Gischala, Simonias (Semunieh), cities in the sense we think of cities today, but from their frequent mention in Josephus, etc., these appear to have been some of the more important places and it is impossible that there were many sites now unoccupied as important as these.

The population of the whole as described in the Galilee volume of the Palestine Exploration Memoirs was, according to the estimates made at the time of the survey, 103,000. Today these numbers may with confidence be doubled.9 Allowing for young children not included in the government returns, the population of this large area of 1,341 square miles with its 312 towns and villages may with safety be estimated at about 250,000. This district is very much larger than that described as Galilee by Josephus which, at an outside estimate, could not have included more than 900 square miles. It includes the whole district of Tyre and all the coast to Carmel. The denseness of the population by the above estimates works out at 186 inhabitants to the square mile. The present mean population of the villages is about 500 and that of the towns Haifa, Akka, Nazareth, Safed and Tiberias about 13,000. I think the utmost we could allow is that the average population of the smaller towns and villages was double that of today, or, say, 1,000 inhabitants to each; while of the four really great cities of the district, 10 Sepphoris, Tiberias, Tarichaea, and Scythopolis, a mean of 50,000 to each would I suppose be as much as we can believe probable in normal times (in times of war such

⁹ The following statistics collected from the Safed district make me believe it is safe to calculate that the population of Galilee has more than doubled in the last twenty-five years. The present population from the official figures in this district is 29,055 (5,594 Jews, 2,131 Greek Church or Greek Catholics—chiefly the latter—916 Maronite Christians, 1,536 Druzes, and 19,878 Moslems). These numbers, however, do not include a considerable number of foreign subjects, especially Jews, who may safely be reckoned as at least 5,000 more, making a total of 34,055 persons distributed over one city, Safed, and thirty-nine small towns and villages. The Palestine Exploration Fund estimate for the same area, counting up all the towns and villages, was 14,030, made up of 2,350 Christians, 1,600 Jews, 200 Druzes, 9,880 Moslems. Here again there are a great many foreign Jews omitted from the count—perhaps 1,500 is not too many, making the total 15,530 or a little less than half the present population.

¹⁰ Vita, 27.

towns being fortified would, of course, be temporarily much more crowded). If there be reckoned 200 small towns and villages with a population together of 200,000 and the four great cities with an equal population (200,000) we get 400,000 as the probable population of Galilee in the time of Christ, giving a density of population of about 440 to the square mile—six times the density of population by the old Palestine Exploration Fund estimates, and two and one-half times the density of population according to the most liberal recent estimates. It is inconceivable that the Galilee of the Jews could have included a population larger than this, and it is probable this estimate errs on the side of excess.

Among the villages of Galilee, Nazareth appears to have been one of the smaller; it is not important enough in size or situation to figure in any of the stirring events in the pages of Josephus, although its neighbor Japha is frequently mentioned. Where the ancient village stood it is impossible to say—none of the traditions are of value; but it cannot have been far from the one spring—the "Virgin's fountain," and must have nestled somewhere in the pretty valley shut out by its circle of hills from the rush and hurry of the busy life which pulsated on all its sides. Today a high road passes through Nazareth, but this is clearly not a natural route to anywhere. The ancient high roads passed from west to east, one along the foot of the Galilean hills to the south, and another through Sepphoris and the Battauf to the north. It is the sanctity of the spot alone which has dragged the mind out of its natural route to mount the steep hills of Nazareth. It was long the fashion to insist on the remoteness of the early home of Jesus, whilst later writers have rather emphasized opposite conditions and pictured his boyhood as within the busy arena of politicians, soldiers, merchants, and amid all the movements of that stirring Surely there is truth in both aspects. Nazareth itself was quietly secluded, shut off from the things of the world. It was not despised for any demerit, but was simply insignificant as compared with its famous neighbors.

At the same time, it was in the center of a district of teeming and strenuous life. Within sight of its surrounding hills rushed the eager tide of civilization. From these heights the eye could wander over scene after scene at once of Israel's ancient history and of present struggles. Southward spread the great plain with its memories of Deborah and Barak, of Gideon and Elijah, of Ahab and Jezebel, while beyond rose the mountains of those people of whom we hear so much in the gospels—the despised but feared Samaritans. sacred shrine. Mount Tabor—in Christ's time a fortified stronghold was visible to the southeast, while southwest stretched the long line of Carmel from the lofty eastern end where, by tradition, Elijah championed the name of Jehovah before the prophets of Baal and all the hosts of backsliding Israel, to the further end which dips gently toward the misty sea to form the southern boundary of the great Bay of Akka. Here landed the legions of arrogant Rome, the ambitious soldier, the crafty politician, all those referred to in the savings of Iesus as seeking "after all these things." To the north we see, fold after fold, the hills of lower Galilee. Almost at one's feet, but an hour's ride away, lay Sepphoris, the scene in those days of many an heroic deed, then soon to lose (though but temporarily) the distinction of being the capital city of the district in favor of the godless and degraded Tiberias. The land for sixteen miles around Sepphoris is reported in the Talmud to have "flowed with milk and honey." Behind Sepphoris lay the mountains of esh Sheghur and the loftier crags of Upper Galilee, culminating in the Jebal Jermak range. To the northeast snowclad Hermon was visible, while due west the hills of the Nazareth range rose higher and shut off the view.

Nazareth was thus a secluded village in the midst of a Roman province of very considerable importance. But an hour's walk to the north was the capital and a great high road. Less than an hour to the south was another great road along which chariots, horsemen and armies hurried backward and forward. Within a very few miles were the important villages of Japha, Simonias, Gebatha and Bethlehem of Zebulon. It was surrounded on all sides by a busy, worldly life, with alien races, languages and customs. To the south were the Samaritans; Carmel, the whole coast plain, and the mountains to the northwest belonged to the Tyrians (Syrophenicians) enjoying self-government, while Hermon and much of the land to the east of the lake was pagan, Greek or Roman. When we consider that the youthful Jesus viewed these alien lands perhaps almost daily from the

¹¹ Matt. 6:32.

lofty hills above his home, what added interest it gives to his references to them: "If the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in dust and ashes."¹²

We cannot doubt that it was to the far-seen land across the Jordan, very fascinating to those viewing it from the west, that the prodigal son went when he went to a "far country," and there fed swine. With what prejudice must the people of Nazareth have looked across the great plain southward to the hills of those hereditary enemies of theirs, and yet how gentle and loving was this Nazarene in all his doings with them."

Although we may not know the exact spot on which stood the village home of Jesus, there is very much in the village life, in the recurring seasons and in nature's gracious gifts which must be today as they were in the days when this was his earthly home. Thus every year the wondrous miracle of spring must have developed itself as it does today, and from the long and hard baked earth there emerged, under the influence of the gentle showers and genial sunshine, that marvelous carpet of green leaves and gorgeous flowers which makes spring in Palestine such a never-ending surprise and delight. Only those who have lived through the cold, wet, lifeless winter in Galilee can fully realize the unthinkable change which comes with the spring. First come the crocuses on the level fields and the cyclamen in the rocky crevices, each putting forth its early flowers from the bulbs of stored-up nourishment; then the anemones -scarlet, purple, white—the gladioli, the purple irises, the pink and yellow flaxes, the crumpled-leaved cistus, and the ubiquitous primrosetinted Palestinian scabious. It is difficult to believe that, in spite of a much higher cultivation, these beauties of nature were absent. Indeed, it is surely to them that our Lord refers when he says "consider the lilies of the field how they grow."14 A little later in the spring, miles of hillside and valley are waving with grain, and the great plain in particular is green almost from end to end. The fig trees now shoot forth their delicate green leaves and tiny figs; the pomegranates deck out their soberer green with brilliant scarlet

¹² Luke 10:13.

¹³ Luke 9:56; 10:33; 17:16; John 4:7-42.

¹⁴ Matt. 6: 28-30.

blossoms; the foliage of the grapes appears—all signs that the winter is past and the summer is near at hand.¹⁵ The hilltops are covered by the flocks of sheep and goats, while all the valleys re-echo to the shepherds' pipes.

As summer advances and the green blades of the grain arise, groups of women and girls go forth and root out the weeds and tares¹⁶ from among the ripening wheat. A few weeks more and the camels, loaded high with wheat and barley, pour into Nazareth from the plain, until the village threshing-floor is covered thick with piled up bundles. Now come the weeks of threshing when the horses, donkeys, and cattle by long stamping reduce the heaps to the homogeneous mass of broken stalks (*tibn*) and grain. Then with the late summer breezes come the long afternoons of winnowing, when the light and worthless chaff is blown away and the precious grain is gathered in an ever growing pile to be garnered—after washing and drying—into the granaries; while the surplus chaff is burnt up.¹⁷

And now the families go out into the fig gardens and vineyards and watch the ripening fruit until, just before the rains, these too are gathered in. As the days grow shorter, and the winds cooler, the stubble is burned off the fields, great blazing fires being visible on the hillsides far away. At last the winter's rains descend and the sudden floods sweep down the long dry valley bottom.¹⁸ Now the peasant goes out with his plow upon his shoulder to furrow the softened earth; and with him goes the sower, sometimes scattering the seeds broadcast before the plow, as in the parable, ¹⁹ at other times following behind it and laying it in the newly turned furrows. The gathering of brushwood from the thickets for fuel and the beating-down of the olives are occupations of the early winter, and bring the agricultural year to a close.

Such are some of the scenes amid which, from year to year, Jesus moved. The man who planted the vineyard,²⁰ the shepherd who went to seek his lost sheep,²¹ the husbandman who spared for one year more his fruitless fig tree,²² the woman who lost her piece of

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15 Cant. 2:11; Luke 21:30.
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¹⁶ Cf. Matt. 13:41.

¹⁷ Matt. 3:12; Luke 3:17; Isa. 5:24.

¹⁸ The floods of the parable, Matt. 7:25.

¹⁹ Matt. 13:3, etc.

²⁰ Matt. 21:33, etc

²¹ Luke 15:4.

²² Luke 13:6.

money²³ (possibly from her head-dress)—may not these and such parables have been founded upon actual incidents in Jesus' boyhood life? All his teaching bears the impress of this village life, though occasionally there comes also an echo of wider interests, as in the parables of the marriage of the king's son,²⁴ the ten talents,²⁵ the unjust steward,²⁶ and the king going to war.²⁷

While nature provided Jesus with such abundant illustrations, the climate made possible a mode of life for his ministry only practicable in such a land. Days of unbroken sunshine and nights of pleasant warmth can be counted upon for six or seven months every year; it is possible, without fear of rain, to gather crowds on the hillsides day and night all over the district. The moonlight nights are perfect for rest out of doors; or, if the days are oppressively hot, for travel. Never was a land more suited for itinerant work and open-air preaching. Even in midwinter it is no uncommon thing to have six weeks of sunshine without a shower. The conditions of peasant life in the east, though hard in many ways, leave much spare time, especially between sowing and harvest, for leisure and thought: food is cheap and wants are few; what is not done today can often be equally well done tomorrow. Certainly the modern fellah finds plenty of time for sitting about, particularly in the winter, though working night and day in times of stress.

Today, as then, the sick are everywhere—the fever-stricken, the blind or semi-blind, the epileptic (now as then supposed to be "possessed"), the dumb because deaf, the palsied (withered hands and feet), and the leprous. It is sufficient for it to be known in any village that a hakim is there for every lane to disgorge just such a crowd as that which, ever renewed, followed the footsteps of our Master. The ashshur (tax-farmer) is as ubiquitous and as hated as of old. It is a saying in Galilee that if you would rid yourself of ants it is enough to sprinkle on their holes some of the earth on which an ashshur has stood—contact with anything so vile will drive even the ants precipitately away.

There is indeed much in the Galilee of today to remind us of that of eighteen hundred years ago. The Jews, though few in number,

²³ Luke 15:8.

²⁵ Matt. 25:14.

²⁷ Luke 14:16.

²⁴ Matt. 22:2.

²⁶ Luke 16:1-13.

are scattered over very much the same area as then; they are very similar in religious ideas; "they tithe mint and anise and cummin," but omit the weightier matters. They are oppressed and overtaxed by a power whose voke is too heavy for them to throw off, but they cannot forget that they were once a nation and a smoldering idea of nationalism has taken possession of many. They are divided into at least two parties: (1) those who, like the Pharisees of the New Testament, hold firm to the letter of the law, and believe little in human effort in any direction except talmudic study; and (2) the newer party, chiefly colonists, to whom the idea of nationalization appeals rather than a dreamy religious idealism centered around a (to them) very doubtful interpretation of prophecy. While the former are frequently lazy, ill-developed and of low vitality, the latter are usually fine, sturdy men and women who are raising up a race of indigenous Israelites on the soil of their forefathers of a type long foreign to Palestine; they are the hope of Zionism.

Galilee, though small in size and comparatively unimportant in the world's history, was for a few short years honored forever above all lands by having been the dwelling-place of him who is the Teacher for all who would know the road to the Father, the Master who claims the allegiance of all hearts. At Nazareth he passed his obscure years of preparation and development, On the shores of that strange lake more than six hundred feet below sea level, he gathered out—almost exclusively from the dwellers in the district—those who, as his earliest followers, are destined to be famous while this world lasts.

Although the Christian church in this sense took rise here, it cannot be said that Christianity has ever flourished much on the land of its birth. The early Christian centuries witnessed the rise in Galilee of a predominant and powerful rabbinism. And later, when Christianity became the religion of the district, its reign was short-lived, for in the seventh century it was on account of its corruption swept away by the conquering armies of the Arabian prophets. A few centuries later a militant, though essentially false, Christianity, for a few brief years triumphant, was humbled to the dust at the battle of Hattin, between Nazareth and the Lake. Since that time a night of ignorance and obscurity has descended upon the land, and even the name of Christ has been hardly known.

The Galilee of the present is only now emerging from the long blight of ignorance, neglect, and internal discord. Much of the land is still desolate, its fields and orchards neglected, its people ignorant of any vital religion and most of all of the teachings of Him on whose account the eves of half the civilized world turn in imagination to their home. But on all sides there are signs of awakening. railway from Haifa to Damascus, which traverses the plain of Esdraelon and touches the Lake at its southern end, the little steamboat on the Lake, the rapidly increasing carriage traffic, the prosperous German and Jewish colonies scattered all over the land, all carry promise of improvement in material things. Many of the fellahin are migrating to America, of whom a good proportion will return with enlarged ideas and a certain amount of capital. The immigrant Jews from all lands, especially the reformed Jews, connected with the Zionist movement, are introducing many improvements in agriculture and new industries. Schools are multiplying all over the land, and many scores of the more intelligent youths of all religions are now being educated in the first-class Christian educational establishments of Beirut and Jerusalem. In the name of Jesus of Nazareth once again "the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." It is in his name that all over the land healing and relief of suffering is meted out to Moslem, Jew, and Christian alike by loving hands.²⁸ We can surely with confidence believe that as day by day the sun rises in splendor behind the dark hills of Bashan and floods lake and valley and mountain side, each return brings nearer the dawn of a better era for this land where once again He, for whose sake the land is ever dear, will here too be honored above all others in a purer, more intelligent and more devoted way than ever in the past.

²⁸ Particularly at the medical missions at Haifa, Akka, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Safed.

WAS CHRISTIANITY A NEW RELIGION?

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The world was not without religion when Christianity first The Jews for centuries had been the custodians of a peculiar religious heritage, and had already spread themselves widely over the known world. Not only did they tenaciously adhere to the faith of their fathers, but they carried on an effective proselvtizing propaganda. There were synagogues in every city of any consequence, where both Jews and proselvtes assembled for worship; and still others, who did not take upon themselves the Jewish religion in the formal sense, sympathized with its teaching and were, in effect, its adherents. These were so numerous in nearly every community that they came to be called by a distinct name, the "God-fearing." But the Iews were not the sole guardians of religion. The situation which Paul met in Lystra, in Athens, in Ephesus, is typical of that which confronted all the early Christian missionaries. Whether they labored among Jews or among gentiles they found the ground elready occupied. Christianity cannot claim to be new in the sense of a first religion; it entered the field as a competitor, not as a pioneer.

It might, therefore, quite naturally appropriate to itself many things already current. The same general problems which confronted other religious teachers had to be solved by the first Christian missionaries, and the range of religious ideas then in vogue had to furnish the means of communication between the new teachers and their hearers. Contemporary phraseology and many current notions, rebaptized with a new significance, may well have found a place in the early development of missionary Christianity. It also is quite impossible to think of the new faith, in its formative period, apart from a most intimate connection with the faith of the Jews. The members of the new community were Jews by birth, and continued to honor the ancestral religion (Luke 24:53; Acts 2:46; 3:1); and even Paul, the whole framework of whose thinking was Jewish,

cannot immediately upon his conversion have shaken himself entirely free from the past. In fact he does not pretend to do so. He no longer regards the law as having absolute validity, but it has served a very essential purpose, so he does not contend against it, but against its perverted use in the new age. In his thought the religion of the Jews was ideal for the period to which it belonged, and was preparatory and contributory to the faith in Jesus Christ (Rom. 3:1; 4:11; Gal. 3:24). The early Christians inherited both their Bible and their general stock of theological ideas from their Jewish ancestors, and instead of deliberately attempting to establish a religion distinct from Judaism they were desirous of bringing to completion what they believed to be the true Judaism.

Furthermore, Christianity is not a mere event in history, nor a summation of events. It is a growth. It has genuinely historical bases in events which transpired, but these had to be supplemented by interpretation and life before it could properly take to itself the name of a distinct religion. In general we may say that it begins formally with the first disciples' revived confidence in Jesus' resurrection, and passed its nascent stage at about the time Paul's great missionary work reached its climax; yet virtually its beginnings lay back in the mystery of Jesus' own thinking, and its growth by no means ceased with Paul. It cannot be said to appear at any one moment in history full fledged. Even when the new faith was in its infancy it was not marked by absolute uniformity in all beliefs and practices, and at a very early date there were differences of opinion within the circle of believers, and even disputes and dissensions (Acts 6:1; 15:1, 30; Gal. 2:11; I Cor. 1:10). Hence it is impracticable to isolate any particular historical period and find there a comprehensive embodiment of Christianity in general. We must therefore treat our initial query, Was Christianity a new religion? from the standpoint of development, investigating the relation between the new and the old as the movement progressed, more especially in the period of its emergence from Judaism; and since space will not permit an exhaustive treatment, only the more significant features of the development will be considered.

The members of the new community early felt the reviving touch of two new and overmastering religious experiences. One was a new experience of Jesus which brought to them the full conviction that, though crucified, he still lived. Peter seems to have been the first to get this new inspiration, but it was soon shared by the others, and under its reviving influence the disbanded followers reassembled. The same Jesus who had inspired their lives during his earthly career thus became for them a living heavenly reality, and so significant was this new conviction that it could not be shaken either by the horrors of persecution or by the threat of death. The second was a new experience of God which resulted in the assurance that he had given his spirit unto them in an especial measure. This latter experience may have been attained somewhat later than the resurrection faith, vet it played an important part in the development of early Christianity. It conferred upon the believers the gift of tongues and of prophecy, boldness and power in testimony for the truth, confidence in the midst of adversity, guidance in Christian activities, and instruction for the regulation of conduct. Within the community neither faith in Jesus' resurrection nor belief in the presence of the spirit was primarily a dogma; each was rather an immediate conviction based upon experience, but to one who had not had the disciples' experience a doctrinal defense became at once necessary.

The corollary of belief in Jesus' resurrection was certainty of his messiahship. To defend this conviction meant the formulation of a new Christian theology. To be sure, the messianic idea was distinctly Jewish and still retained its Jewish color in the form in which the first Christians adopted it. The "new" was not the idea itself, nor the framework in which it stood, but the belief that this same Jesus who had been with them upon earth, living in humility and dying an ignominious death, was now in heaven, the actual Messiah who had been predicted by the prophets and who would soon return upon the clouds in the glory of his kingdom. Thus the

¹ From the account of Acts it would seem that the spirit did not come to the disciples until Pentecost, seven weeks after Jesus' death; while according to John 20: 22 its descent occurred on the day Jesus arose from the dead. This discrepancy agrees with the different conceptions of the spirit's activity as held by these writers. According to the former its work is official and external, manifested in extraordinary demonstrations; according to the latter its primary task is to minister enlightenment and comfort to the religious life of the individual, and indeed Luke–Acts is not without hints that the ordinary life of the disciples was from the first one of deep spirituality in the more sober sense of the term (Luke 24: 32, 52 f.; Acts 1:14).

distinctly new phase in the entire representation was the identification of Jesus with the expected Messiah, while the eschatological coloring in which the idea was portrayed was in accord with current Jewish notions. Doubtless they had previously hoped that it was he who should redeem Israel (Luke 24:21; Acts 1:6), but their confidence in his messiahship in spite of his death was new, consequent upon belief in his resurrection.

They presented several new arguments in support of this new tenet in their theology. The first and most fundamental one was the fact of Jesus' resurrection, but they did not seem to expect that unbelievers would feel the full force of this without some additional evidence to support it, hence it was reinforced with Old Testament citations. The prophets, according to the interpretation put upon them, had predicted just that type of messiah which Jesus had exemplified in his career, particularly in his death and resurrection. the early preachers tried to remove, more especially for their Jewish hearers, the stumbling-block of the cross. In line with this argument they were able to advance another based upon more recent events. namely. Jesus' mighty deeds. The wonders which he wrought were presented as undeniable evidence that God was with him, thus showing that not only did his death conform to the divine plan but that in his life as well the seal of God's approval had been placed upon him (Luke 24:19; Acts 2:22). Both his life and death having been in harmony with the foreordained purposes of God, he now had been given a position of messianic dignity on God's right hand while his followers awaited his speedy return. In support of this last claim a clear prediction of the Messiah's elevation was seen in Ps. 110, and, in the recent outpouring of the spirit in their own experience, a definite proof that such an exaltation had taken place. This gift, the evidence of which anybody might observe in the lives of the disciples—their boldness in preaching, their power in testimony, their speaking with tongues, and the like—had been made possible through the exaltation of Jesus, and was in turn the final assurance, in accordance with the foreshadowings of prophecy, that the last days were at hand.

Thus the disciples were led to formulate their new experience of God into a second theological tenet—the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Here again they are largely debtors to Judaism. In earlier times

any unusual activity in either the physical or psychical realm might be regarded by the Hebrews as due to the divine spirit, and though later Judaism somewhat modified the earlier conceptions still the idea of connecting the spirit's work with God was a thoroughly Jewish notion. The newness in Christian usage appears more in the details. for example, in the intensive character of the spirit's work. In contemporary Judaism the idea of the spirit was more a matter of theory than of life—a memory of what God had done and an expectation of what he would do in the messianic age. With the Christians this expectation was declared to be a present reality. Moreover, according to their new interpretation of the situation, the spirit was restricted in its activity to the membership of the community—it was a Christian possession only. They did not deny its activity in the past, but that had been preparatory, inspiring the Old Testament writers to make messianic predictions, and attesting by its presence with the earthly Jesus his right to future messianic honors, while the prophetic ideal of a universal outpouring upon "all flesh" was now restricted to those believing in Jesus' messiahship. At first its work seems to have been confined, in their interpretation of it, to the exceptional or marvelous and was not put emphatically into relation with the ordinary life of piety.2 This agreed with contemporary Jewish views. But the Christian doctrine early developed a new phase, recognizing that the life of certain individuals was upon a sufficiently high spiritual level to justify the idea of a permanent indwelling of the spirit (Acts 6:3, 5; 9:17; 11:24); while to Paul probably belongs the chief credit for consciously elevating the activities of the spirit to the ethical plane. He identified it with Christ, and made it support and comprehend the whole range of Christian life, its ordinary as well as its extraordinary phases.

Turning next to the primitive Christian doctrine of salvation³ we might naturally presuppose that the element of newness would be

² By way of caution it should be said that the doctrinaire conception of the spirit's function as found in Acts ought not to be pressed too rigidly into the thought of the first disciples. In the interests of their apologetic they must of necessity have made much of the unusual demonstrations, but on the other hand there is no reason to suppose they thought the spirit forsook them in the calmer moments, whether they theoretically regarded their common pious life as a direct fruit of the spirit or not.

³ For a more extended exposition of this doctrine see Burton, "Atonement as Conceived by the Early Church." *Biblical World*, August, 1908, pp. 124-29.

much more in evidence. Of course the mere idea of salvation could not be new, for that is more or less prominent in many religions: but did not the Christians present to the world an entirely new conception of the nature of true salvation and a new theory of the way by which men are to attain it? For a Jew of this period salvation was messianic. that is, was to reach its ultimate realization through the establishment of the messianic kingdom. Thus it pertained to the nation rather than to the individual, was a future hope rather than a present experience, and became potentially available on the condition of repentance and a life of righteousness in preparation for the approaching day of the Lord. The primary effort of the Jew was not so much to discover the conditions upon which God could forgive, as to have Israel forsake sin and do righteousness, and so render possible the speedy coming of the Messiah. For Pharisees this meant principally a strict observance of the law of Moses, but probably there were many other pious Jews who did not thus elevate ritual righteousness to so supreme a place.

The first Christian theologians in dealing with the doctrine of salvation seem to have begun at the point where they had left off in Judaism. They preached that salvation was intended primarily for Israel (Acts 2:30; 3:20-26), that in nature it was messianic, and that though more closely at hand than in the Tewish conception vet its full realization belonged to the future. The nearness of its approach was guaranteed by the exaltation of Jesus (Acts 5:31), but still it delayed awaiting Israel's further repentance (Acts 3:20). Those who wished to share its privileges must fulfil two conditions: (1) Repent and forsake sin, and (2) Assent to the idea of Jesus' exaltation to messianic lordship (Acts 2:21, 36, 38; 3:19). Those who fulfilled these conditions enjoyed the forgiveness spoken of by the prophets (Acts 3:10a; cf. Isa. 40:2; 43:25; 44:22), and being separated from this crooked generation (Acts 2:40) awaited in confidence the coming of Jesus the Messiah, and the full consummation of their salvation in the great "restoration" (Acts 3:20 f.). In all this one finds little that Judaism did not already contain, save the allimportant fact that Iesus had become the central figure: he was now the head of the corner and in none other was salvation to be found (Acts 4:11 f.).

Perhaps it is surprising to find that Jesus' death is not made the pivot upon which either the possibility or the attainment of salvation turns. Instead of it there is the prophetic conception that God is ready to forgive freely if only men will cease to sin and call upon him in repentance (Acts 2:21), and the great sins of the age are the killing of Jesus and refusal to recognize his messiahship (Acts 2:23, 36; 3:14 f.; 4:10). But it would be a mistake to assume that there was no new item in theology dealing with the death of Jesus. That disastrous event so insistently demanded explanation that it tested the powers of the first theologians to the utmost. According to their Iewish habit of thought the fact that it had happened was prima acie evidence that God had so willed. To this both the Christians believer and the Tewish unbeliever could alike assent, but from this common premise they made quite opposite inferences. The latter saw in it God's rejection of any idea of Jesus' messiahship, while the former, convinced primarily through the resurrection experiences, discovered from the Old Testament that death was no such denial but was a heretofore-unrecognized item in the Messiah's schedule. While death was not the chief aim of his mission to earth (he was raised up primarily for Israel's enlightenment, Acts 3:22, 26; cf. 2:22) and although it was a temporary defeat, yet it did not bring his mission eternally to naught. The final outcome would be the manifestation of the full messianic salvation; nevertheless that death was a tremendous catastrophe to be laid to Israel's account, the direct result of Israel's sin. Along this line the early theologians formulated their dogma respecting Jesus' death: his death, for which sin was directly responsible, was in accordance with scripture; and in his death as well as in his life he was a minister of salvation. With this as a starting-point (I Cor. 15:3) Paul soon developed other features of interpretation, bringing the idea more into harmony with his own peculiar heritage from the more legalistic side of Judaism.

Perhaps Christianity was still more emphatically new in its doctrine of the person of the Messiah. It is sometimes urged that the early disciples' familiar association with Jesus during his earthly career made it intrinsically improbable that any unique estimate would be placed upon his person prior to his death, and would even retard any such inclination afterward. He was so strictly one with

them—wearied by the common toils of life, subjected to temporal circumstances, needing to be sustained in his spirit by agonizing prayer to God—that the naturalness of his earthly life was predominant in their thought. They recognized that his holy character, his superior teachings, and his miracle-working power placed him on a high plane, but these things were credited to the abundant measure in which God's favor rested upon him rather than to any intrinsic uniqueness of his person. So it has been argued. However this may be, it does not follow that the estimate placed upon the risen Jesus confined itself to its former earthly level. The resurrection faith meant more than a confirmation of former faith: it meant a new emphasis upon the significance of Jesus' office and also probably a new estimate of his person, which would combine both the disciples' inheritance from Jewish theology and inferences inspired by their recent experiences. But it is not easy to determine just what they might have brought over from Judaism. In much Jewish literature where the messianic hope appears prominently the individuality of the Messiah is very indistinct. The hope rested fundamentally upon faith in God, and so was not from the first necessarily bound up with the idea of a unique messianic deliverer. As time advanced the figure of the Messiah grew in prominence, yet we are unable to determine with any degree of assurance the exact content of Jewish theology regarding this ideal personage at even as late a date as the beginning of our era. There is, however, less uncertainty regarding the views of the early Christians. They did not formulate a doctrine of the person of Christ in the modern sense of the word Christology, yet they did assign to the risen Jesus a very elevated personal significance. They have been called "hero-worshipers," but this term does not adequately indicate their estimate of Christ. He was much more to them than a heaven-exalted hero, a Moses or an Elijah. He was in their thought such a one as had never been before and never would be again, the person toward whom the entire purposes of God had previously been directed, the one who gave a new significance to all of Israel's past history, the ground of the disciples' present ecstatic life, and the guarantor, as they supposed, of the miraculous dawn of the new age in the near future. So they called him Jehovah's "Anointed," he was the Psalmist's "Son of God," the prophet's

"Servant of Jehovah," the "Son of man" of the apocalyptic seer, the "Holy and Righteous One," and their "Lord." We must indeed credit them with possessing an elevated Christology. They do not give us a metaphysical treatment of the person of Christ for they did not reflect upon the problem of ontology; they interpreted him in terms of authority. His unity with God was seen in the heavenly station to which he had been exalted and the divine office which he filled.

Thus far we have sought the new in the realm of extraordinary experience and of dogma, but one would come far short of appreciating the uniqueness of primitive Christianity if he restricted inquiry to these alone. There was in addition the community's new life, its common daily walk. This ordinary life would be very closely bound up with those extravagant demonstrations of spiritual power which were experienced on frequent occasions, but the disciples cannot have lived wholly in the region of ecstasy and vision. Not only would a continued state of such abnormal elevation be psychologically improbable, but tradition does not so represent the situation (Acts 1:14; 2:42; 4:24 ff.; 6:4). In the ordinary matters of outward conduct the believers were not remarkably different from other Jews, for the element of newness in their calmer life lay within the circle of their own fellowship. They possessed a new consciousness of unity which gradually developed itself into a new institution—the first church. By degrees they instituted such visible forms of ritual and ceremony as were suitable to stimulate and give expression to their common religious feelings. They assembled by themselves for worship, they are together in loving remembrance of their former fellowship with Jesus, they adopted baptism as an initiatory rite, and they set up within their own community a system of benevolences. These practices were not strikingly new in themselves. Among Jews alms-giving was not uncommon, memorial feasts were frequently celebrated, proselytebaptism was not unknown, and the custom of assembling for worship was characteristic; but the early Christians filled these things with a new content. They had prayed to God before, but now they prayed with the consciousness of a new relation between him and them; they sang the psalms their fathers had taught them to sing and read the same scriptures, but now they sang with a new voice and read with new eyes. Throughout the whole range of their life they were animated by a new spirit, which, it is true, frequently broke forth with the violence of the whirlwind but which also sustained and directed their calmer moments as well. At first they may not have called this new power in the calmer life by the distinctive name of the Holy Spirit (compare above, note 2), but it was none the less a prominent factor in the new religion.

In these quieter moments they meditated upon Jesus' earthly career. As they called to mind his deeds of kindness and his wonderful words, in the glow of their recent experience, a new light fell upon the past. That past now became much more valuable to them, and as a result another element of newness early appeared—the gospel story, and ultimately the New Testament. The first believers did not write the gospels as we now have them—these are the work of a later age—and probably at first they felt no very great interest in preserving the story for future generations, but for their own satisfaction and enlightenment they gleaned as much as they could from memory. Gradually this grew in bulk and in fixity of form until it became "the new gospel" as we now understand that term. But in neither the form nor in the idea of preservation itself were the Christians especially original. In so far as the story about Jesus was given any set form by them, either oral or written, its characteristics must have been Jewish; and the idea of saving a teacher's message for religious purposes was not at all new. Israel had so perpetuated the teachings of Moses and the prophets, to say nothing of similar customs in other religions. The "new" was not in the form but in the content of this gospel, and it gave Christianity one of its first rights to be called a new religion. It was not created by the Christians, yet its survival was due to them, and reciprocally testifies to the high moral quality and normal spiritual tone of their new life. Had they been merely visionaries and ecstatics they never would have preserved so faithfully the noble ethical and spiritual elements of gospel tradition, especially since they had no incentive for retaining anything save as it appealed to them primarily from the standpoint of its worth.

Experience, doctrine, life, these are the spheres in which we have

sought the new in the early development of Christianity. We may now ask, by way of conclusion, whether these new items have any abiding religious value. The first believers were very rich in personal experience but this is a matter for the individual, and, as such. can have no true permanency except as repeated. It is of some value to have the historical record of what another has experienced, but to be really vital to the individual of each age it must be primarily Has Christianity contributed anything toward a personal affair. perpetuity in this respect? It did not pass on to posterity its own unique vision of the risen Iesus but only the story of that vision. nor has it handed down to us its consciousness of marvelous spiritual endowments; and yet it has continued to live and to be fundamentally a religion of experience. The thing of value is the fact of the possibility of such experiences and not the special form they may assume in this or that particular age. The personal conviction of God's nearness to men, as revealed in Jesus Christ, was the new basal experience of the new faith, and in this lay its abiding power. In the realm of dogma the first theologians were not especially productive but their work was fundamental, and when reduced to its lowest terms issues in a simple but sufficient creed. They did not create a new God for man to worship, nor implant in man a new religious faculty, but they clarified the vision of God and stimulated and enlightened the religious instincts of humanity by their new grip upon the eternal fact of divine love. Highly as they may have esteemed their doctrinal apologetic, or their geyser-like outbursts of charismatic power, they were, within the calmer sphere of common daily living, working out a much more significant contribution to religion the proof that the new Christian ideal was livable. By this means, and through their preservation of the gospel tradition, they bequeathed to future generations the perennial religious ideals of Jesus.

Whork and Whorkers

PROFESSOR JAMES HENRY BREASTED'S A History of Egypt will soon appear in a German edition, prepared by Dr. Hermann Ranke, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, now assistant in the Egyptian Section of the Royal Museum at Berlin.

PROFESSOR STUART L. TYSON of the New Testament Department of the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, has accepted a call to the chair of New Testament in the University of the South to succeed Professor W. P. Du Bose, resigned. He takes up his new duties February, 1909.

"PROVIDENCE BIBLE INSTITUTE" is the name of an organization which states its purpose to be "To foster a more widespread interest in the study of the Bible, particularly in its literary and historical aspects." The purpose of this Institute is fostered in two ways: First, by four courses of lectures to be delivered during the winter (1) by Rev. Samuel McComb, D.D. of Boston on "The Bible and Modern Psychotherapy;" (2) by Dean Shailer Mathews of the Divinity School, the University of Chicago, on "The Social Teachings of Jesus;" (3) by Professor G. W. Knox of Union Theological Seminary on "The Spirit of the Orient;" and (4) by Dean George Hodges of Cambridge Episcopal Divinity School on "The Apostolic Age." Second, by four study classes: (1) "The Acts and Epistles" by Rev. John R. Brown; (2) "General Introduction to the Old Testament" by Professor Henry T. Fowler of Brown University; (3) "The Principles of Education and Their Application to Sunday-School Teaching" by Professor Walter B. Jacob; and (4) "Lantern Talks on Bible Lands" by Thomas Battey. These last four courses constitute, under the direction of Dr. Lester Bradner, Jr., the second year's work of "The Rhode Island Bible Training School."

REV. BENJAMIN R. DOWNER, Newport, Tenn., a former graduate of Vanderbilt University, 1891, Rochester Theological Seminary, 1895, has been elected to the chair of Old Testament Interpretation in Kansas City Theological Seminary, to succeed Professor J. J. Reeve, who has accepted a call to the same chair in Baylor University, Waco, Tex.

PROFESSOR JAMES HENRY BREASTED has been appointed a delegate by the United States government to the International Congress of Archaeologists which will meet in Cairo, Egypt, next April. The International Sunday-School Lesson Committee, American Section, intends to issue its first series of graded Sunday-school lessons as authorized at the Twelfth International Convention in Louisville, June 20, 1908, very soon after next holidays. The lessons to be published will be the first year of the Beginner's, the first year of the Primary, and the first year of the Junior series. This date will give the publishers ample time to prepare and publish their helps by October 1, 1909, the date agreed on by the large publishing houses for beginning the use of the new graded lessons.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH of Glasgow delivered the Drew lecture at Hackney College, London, October 7, on "Israel's Doctrine of the Individual and Immortality."

Professor A. H. Sayce, in company with Artin Pasha, who has just retired from office in Cairo, is planning for an extended trip in the Soudan. According to a recent letter, he expects to spend the next winter in exploring there, going up the Blue Nile, which is in very high flood this year, and also up the White Nile as far as Gondokoro, returning through the monuments of ancient Meroe. The governor general, Sir Reginald Wingate, who is a neighbor of Professor Sayce in Edinburgh, has been mapping out the trip with him during their summer vacation.

A FEW months ago, Professor Gaster announced that he had secured from the Samaritan community at Nablous an ancient Hebrew recension of the Book of Joshua, which was independent of and probably older than the Massoretic text. This announcement was greeted with great interest, for it meant one of the most important biblical discoveries of modern times. Scholars at once set themselves the task of testing the antiquity of the translation and, as usual, arrived at varying opinions. Articles pro and con have followed one another in rapid succession. But now the controversy is set at rest by a simple announcement in the Theologische Literaturzeitung for September 26. Here Professor G. Dalman, of Jerusalem, reports a conversation with the Samaritan high priest on September 1, in which the latter declared that he himself had composed and written the text in question on the basis of an Arabic document. Furthermore he expressed astonishment that Professor Gaster should have claimed great antiquity for the version since he himself had never made any false claims in reference to his manuscript. This statement would seem to be final.

Book Reviews

Canon and Text of the New Testament. By CASPAR RENÉ GREG-ORY, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners, 1907. Pp. 540. \$2.50.

The announcement of a volume in "The International Theological Library" on the canon and text of the New Testament by so distinguished an expert as Professor Gregory naturally roused great expectations, and these expectations have, in some measure, been fulfilled. The author, from the vantage-ground of his long familiarity with the subject, has obviously set himself to reveal its genuine human interest. Perhaps the best sections of the book are those in which his historical imagination is exercised on the various processes by which a definite group of Christian writings came to have a unique authority (e. g., pp. 52, 53, 56, 57, 216, 217, 292–94), or which led to the appearance of divergent types of text in the manuscripts and versions of the New Testament (e. g., pp. 486, 487, 504, 505). The consequence is that discussions which in other hands have often proved dry and technical may here be followed with unflagging interest.

The graphic method employed by Dr. Gregory seems partly due to the fact that he has in view the ordinary reader of intelligence, rather than the student, strictly so called. At times he appears to vacillate between the needs of the two classes. Possibly this may account for a strange lack of caution in some statements of detail. Thus, e. g., he claims Clement as "full evidence" for the Gospel of Matthew at the close of the first century (p. 67). But the very careful investigation of Clement's supposed quotations from Matthew in The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers (Oxford, 1905), pp. 58–62, is a warning against dogmatic statements. A similar hesitation must be expressed with regard to Dr. Gregory's assertion that "Barnabas has two quotations from Matthew" (p. 78). One may again refer to the guarded statement in the work quoted above (pp. 17–19). Many other instances might be adduced. This abandon, which undoubtedly gives vigor and zest to the book, has, perhaps, a connection with some extraordinary defects of style.

We cannot help thinking that the desire to write a vivid and effective narrative—certainly a most laudable aim in this province of knowledge—has affected the plan of the book, more especially in the section which treats of the text. There is far too much detailed information regarding certain

facts and incidents in the history of the documents, and far too little discussion of critical problems and processes. Four whole pages are spent on Tischendorf's discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus (pp. 320-32), and at least four more in a minute description of the same scholar's various editions of the Greek New Testament (pp. 455-50). Yet the book contains scarcely any specimens of the application of the principles of textual criticism. No hints are given as to the manner in which a critical edition of the New Testament should be used. No criteria are supplied for estimating the value for textual criticism of the various versions or Fathers. How much more illuminating, for example, the section on "Syriac Translations" (pp. 396-403) would be if account were taken of Mr. F. C. Burkitt's brilliant investigation of the New Testament text in Syriac Church Fathers. And, most strange of all, while Dr. Gregory has a very interesting and suggestive discussion of the various types of extant texts, to which he gives the names of "original" (=Westcott-Hort's "Neutral"), "re-wrought" (=W.-H.'s "Western"), "polished" (=W.-H's "Alexandrian"), "first Syrian revision," "second Syrian revision" or "official" (=W.-H.'s "Syrian"), he entirely omits to specify the manuscripts, translations, and Fathers in which these various recensions are to be found.

On the other hand, nothing could be more admirable than the laying-out of the section on the Canon. After an excellent introduction which deals with the real scope of the inquiry, "whether or no there existed at an early period in the history of the Christian church a positively official and authorized collection of books that was acknowledged by the whole of Christendom" (p. 8), which discusses the word "Canon," the Jewish Canon, the means of intercommunication in the early church, and the production of books in those primitive days, he proceeds to group the evidence for the various New Testament writings round the names of famous church leaders, such as Clement, Ignatius, Papias, Justin, Eusebius, etc., and influential heretics like Basilides, Marcion, Tatian, and others. At the close of each epoch through which the history advances, the apostolic age, the post-apostolic, the age of Irenaeus, of Origen, of Eusebius, of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Dr. Gregory provides valuable summaries of the actual position of affairs which, however, must be read in the light of the caution expressed above. In an investigation marked, as a general rule, by insight, sympathy, and enthusiasm, the result of a practical appreciation of human conditions, it is difficult to make selections for special commendation. have been particularly struck by the lucid discussion of Marcion's crucial importance for the history of the Canon, by the paragraphs which treat of Justin's acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel (pp. 93, 94, 181, 182), and by various far-reaching statements which occur almost incidentally, as, e. g., that on the nature of New Testament quotations in early writers (pp. 60 ff.), the explanation of the new legalism in the Christian church (p. 84), the emphasis on the linking together of the various generations by men like Polycarp and Potheinus (p. 145), and the important caution as to the presence of sub-apostolic writings in New Testament manuscripts (p. 216).

H. A. A. KENNEDY

KNOX COLLEGE TORONTO, CAN.

The Books of the Prophets. By G. G. FINDLAY, D.D. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1907. Vol. II, pp. xv+199; Vol. III, pp. xi +248. 2s. 6d. per vol.

The first volume of this work preceded those now issued by some eleven years. The author explains the long delay as due partly to ill health and the interruptions of other work, and partly to the "difficulties of the task and the continual appearance of fresh theories and suggestions with which it was necessary to acquaint oneself." The present volumes include Isa., chaps. 1–39, Micah, chaps. 6 and 7, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Zechariah, chaps. 12–14, and Jeremiah. Prophecy in "The Exile and After" remains to be treated in a fourth volume.

In general, the study of each prophet or group of prophets is introduced by a chapter upon the history of the times. The prophecies themselves are then taken up in the form of running description, discussion, and comment, with brief quotation. At the end of the section concerning each book there is given a tabular analysis of the contents of the book. This more detailed study is followed, in the case of Isaiah, by a chapter upon the messianic teaching of the prophet and, in the case of Jeremiah, by a chapter upon the discipline of Jeremiah. The third volume closes with a general survey of the doctrine of the prophets of the seventh century.

In his preface, Dr. Findlay says he cannot range himself "as a partisan either of the "advanced" or the "traditional" school of Old Testament interpretation." He recognizes "the rights and duties of criticism," which he defines as "instructed and reasoned judgment." Throughout the work, he fully and candidly faces the problems which arise in regard to the integrity of the books considered. His conclusions are usually conservative, yet he does not hesitate, as in the case of Isaiah, chaps. 12, 13—14:23, 21:1-10, 24-27, to deny many portions of the prophetic writings to their traditional authors.

Viewed separately, Dr. Findlay's historical sections are often of a nature to be very helpful to the general reader. Thus his interpretation

of the "Assyrianizing movement" in Manasseh's reign (Vol. II, pp. 160, 161) and the significance of the discovery of Deuteronomy (chap. xx) are very satisfactory. In the presentation of the thought of the separate prophets, many of the author's comments and summaries will prove stimulating and helpful. The studies of Habakkuk and, especially, of Ieremiah seem the most sympathetic and appreciative of any in these volumes. The writer points out that Habakkuk "takes the first step in that inquiry as to the justice of God's administration in human life and in the course of history—'the riddle of this painful earth'—on which Israel meditated with fruitful results during the exile, and which gave birth to the Book of Job and the doctrine of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53." With Jeremiah, in whom "the Old Testament faith enters upon its more inward and subjective stage of development," the author is able to sympathize most deeply, and so he becomes a particularly helpful interpreter of this prophet, whom he pronounces "in pure spiritual vision and attainment the greatest of them all."

In contrast to the favorable judgment that may be passed upon these aspects of the volumes, one must recognize that they fail to give a strong and definite impression of their section of prophecy as a whole. author does not seem to have accepted the broader conclusions to which most historical students have come. He speaks, it is true, of prophecy as a "continuous legacy," whose "oracles were liable to be worked over and redelivered at successive epochs," but he fails to give a satisfactory presentation of the development of prophecy. He does not bring out the vital relations between the general social forces at work in Israel and the thought of the prophets, or even between prophet and prophet in their cumulative work. When we find him seeming to regard as unfounded some of the surest conclusions of the study of Old Testament literary and religious history (see note, Vol. III, p. 95), his failure to make plain the historical development of prophecy ceases to be surprising. Surely it is not necessary to go to the extremes of "advanced" criticism in order to recognize the broader lines of development. One feels throughout the work that the writer has not gone so fully and freely into the general social, literary, and religious history of Israel as he has into the critical study of the individual prophets. It may reasonably be questioned, too, whether the large amount of discussion as to the genuineness of many sections, introduced, as it is, directly into the running presentation of the prophecies, will not prove confusing to most readers. If this critical matter were separated, in some way, from the paragraphs which give a positive presentation of the prophets' teaching, the whole would make a much clearer and more definite impression. As the material is arranged, the volumes do not offer clear, connected reading concerning the prophets and their times; nor do they so organize and divide the matter as to give plain and definite guidance in a study of the writings themselves. If, however, those who use this work, will study the biblical text in close connection with the chapters which treat of the books, they will gain much appreciation of the thought of the several prophets and some realization of their historical connection.

Henry Thatcher Fowler

Brown University Providence, R. I.

The Religious Value of the Old Testament in the Light of Modern Scholarship. By Ambrose White Vernon. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1907. Pp. 81. 90 cents net.

The first third of this essay, in four brief chapters, discusses the change of attitude toward the Old Testament, the older view of its religious value. with the merits of this view, its defects, and its untenability. The contrast between the present conception of the Bible as literature and traditional Protestant ideas is presented with a brevity that may seem rather bold. but certainly makes the distinction clear. The further discussion of the older view is not without sympathetic appreciation of its help to the religious life, and the loss which many earnest Christians must feel in the transition is not blinked. In the next chapter, however, the vital defects of the old conception, in its externalizing and limiting of religious life and growth, are pointed out with equal clearness. This is followed by a short discussion of the impossibility of longer maintaining the traditional view, whatever its virtues or defects. The treatment of these themes is so brief that it is doubtful whether it can convince those who have not already come to feel the contradiction between our present modes of thought and general world view on the one hand, and our inherited views about the Bible on the other. Many who have been perplexed by this contradiction will find the directness and brevity of statement most satisfactory. In this aspect, the present book is in interesting contrast to some of its predecessors, with their more elaborate efforts to win those held in ancient bonds. The author rightly assumes that today there are many who need no elaborate argument, but only a clear formulation of the contrasting views.

"A modern view of the religious value of the Old Testament" is the title of the chapter which constitutes the main body of the book. In this, there is given an admirable, positive view of some of those broad and permanent elements of religious value in the Old Testament which historical

criticism has revealed, or, at least, greatly clarified. The first group of these is connected with the study of Old Testament characters, a field which has surely long been popular, yet Professor Vernon's illustrative treatment of David and Jeremiah shows how old lines of study may become new. The two characters are well chosen. Men have thought that they knew the one quite intimately, yet the unreality of the David tradition, when compared with the man revealed by present historical study, makes doubly evident the value of knowledge of the true David for virile, vital religion. The other character selected, Jeremiah, was little more than the embodiment of one trait, till historical study gave personal acquaintance with that sensitive, tender, heroic soul, more typically son of man than any other in the ages before the Son of Man. The second contribution of modern Old Testament study is the service it renders by bringing us into touch with "the discovery of the most fundamental truths of our religion." Thus we come to appreciate their real significance, and, too, the possibility of God's revelation of himself to the soul that hungers and thirsts after him. The third great service is the giving of a true basis for a fuller understanding of the character and work of Christ. With an unusual combination of historical and spiritual insight, Professor Vernon has pictured the significance of Jesus whose character alone could make the Old Testament "old." In conclusion, he shows briefly that these three great religious values of the Old Testament "have been clearly offered only by modern HENRY THATCHER FOWLER scholarship."

BROWN UNIVERSITY PROVIDENCE, R. I.

The History of Babylonia and Assyria. By Hugo Winckler, Ph.D. Translated and edited by James Alexander Craig, Ph.D. Revised by the author. New York: Scribners, 1907. 'Pp. xii+352. \$1.50.

This work is a translation of the revised edition of Dr. Winckler's Geschichte published in 1899 as a part of Helmolt's Weltgeschichte. This translation has had the benefit of revision by the author and also by the translator, the contribution of the latter being usually in the form of signed footnotes.

The history before us shows a mastery of the cuneiform material such as would be expected from the author, who is undoubtedly one of the foremost Assyriologists of the present day. The "historical imagination" of the author, of which the translator speaks, is much in evidence, and is of very great service. Where the data are scanty the author has not hesitated to infer the relations of events, with results that are fre

quently suggestive and illuminating. The style in general is clear, although the author's fulness of knowledge and the brevity of treatment make some passages obscure at first reading. The separate consideration of the history of each of the nations, Babylonia and Assyria, here found is probably better than the combined treatment ordinarily employed. But the resulting gaps in the Assyrian history, with references to the previous treatment, seriously interrupt the continuity; some repetition would have been preferable.

The condensed style of treatment, made necessary by the size of the book, has usually been carried out very effectively. The treatment of the sources, however, is very brief and general. Some historical incidents, as for example the campaign of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, are considered with a brevity that seems excessive. The absence of any bibliography is a serious lack.

This book is not adapted for popular use, nor was it probably so intended. The student of the subject will find it an unusually suggestive book, but he must use it with much discrimination. It is evident from what has already been said that the personal conclusions of the author are a prominent element; and many of these conclusions are of course uncertain. It is to be regretted that often in such cases the specific reasons for the conclusion have not been clearly indicated. On disputed points already discussed by others, the author's view alone is ordinarily given, with no hint of the possibility of another. Occasionally the treatment of such a point is merely confusing, as in regard to the relation of the Medes and the Umman-Manda. The author's well-known views concerning the dependence of Old Testament religion on that of the Babylonians lead to occasional dogmatic assertions without evidence.

The index is very comprehensive and satisfactory. The map is good, but a map, or maps, giving a larger percentage of the places mentioned in the book would be a great improvement. The translation is ordinarily very well done, and the notes of the translator are a valuable addition.

GEORGE RICKER BERRY

COLGATE UNIVERSITY HAMILTON, N. Y.

The Book of Esther. "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges Series," with Introduction and Notes, by Rev. A. W. Streame, D.D. Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1908. Pp. xxxiv +80. 1s. 6d.

Intermittently for more than twenty-five years have the volumes of the "Cambridge Bible Series" of commentaries been issuing from the press. A new one, Esther, including the apocryphal additions of the Greek text, now comes to hand. It has all the earmarks of its predecessors. Content and manner of treatment, as clearly as cover and type, declare it a fit member of the now familiar set on the library shelf. The author is well known from previous work, and here he has not deviated from the even tenor of his way. His task has not been without difficulty. This book which lies on the borderland of the Apocrypha has not had an unclouded history. Nor has the final word yet been spoken. Kuenen, Grätz, Noeldeke, and others, find no historic basis for the story. The work is thus the result of a fertile and purposeful imagination. Jensen sees in it only an astronomical myth, and vigorously supports his contention. On the other hand, Hitzig, Oppert, Orelli, and others take it as a sober history throughout and are abundant in labors to prove their thesis. Streane, however, with Sanday, Driver, Adeney, and a host of others, seeks a middle ground. He conceives that while an element of romance and idealism, which in no way militates against its place in the canon, must be admitted, vet there is a veritable historic basis. Then this unhistoric element he quietly reduces to a minimum. Setting forth the conflicting views of scholars, in his introduction, he has scarcely marshaled in its strength the position of those who interpret the story as fiction. Perhaps his own arguments may not always stand at par. For instance, the historical basis for Esther is maintained by a suggested comparison with the books of Tobit and Judith. But what would have been the conclusion of the editor if he had made the comparison with the apocryphal I Maccabees? In his exegesis he assumes or pleads for the historicity of various features, as the six-months' feast, the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, the distant date arranged for the slaughter of the Jews, the freedom of intercourse between Mordecai and Esther, and other features, which fit poorly into the known background of Persian custom. Though patriotism is admittedly the moving motive in the book, the author, following the Regius professor of Hebrew in Oxford, finds the keynote in God's providential care of his people as seen in 4:14. While there is nothing distinctly new in the book, it is a handy volume which presents in a readable way the main results of the past centuries of study. And beyond this there is a freedom from the speculative tendency, a careful avoidance of possible rocks, and a sane conservatism which must heartily recommend it to a large constituency.

I. G. MATTHEWS

McMaster University Toronto, Canada

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

PATON, L. B. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther. [The International Critical Commentary.] New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. xvii + 339. \$2.25.

A valuable addition to the literature on Esther. Characterized by scholarship and sanity; it is indispensable to the close student of this biblical romance.

PEAKE, A. S. The Religion of Israel. [The Century Bible Handbooks.] London: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1908. Pp. 177. 6d.

The first Old Testament number of a series of handbooks edited by Professor Walter F. Adeney and intended "to gather up the results of research and scholarship on matters of history, archaeology, literature, and criticism, that help to throw light on the Bible and its contents." The series is meant primarily for the educated layman. This initial volume presents the history of the religion of the Hebrews in rapid survey. The method of presentation is clear, simple, and straightforward. The limits of space forbid any extended discussion of disputed points and permit the author only the expression of his own views, and that briefly. The author's position in general is well chosen and will commend itself to careful scholars, though differences as to details may arise. The book can be highly commended to anyone desiring a concise and intelligible statement of the growth of Israel's religion as interpreted by modern scholars.

Kautzsch, E. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments übersetzt und herausgegeben. 3d ed. Lieferung 4. Pp. 103–256. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1908. M. 0.80.

The successive parts of this important publication are appearing with commendable regularity. The present portion carries us through Deut., chap. 9. The translator and editor of Deuteronomy is Professor Karl Marti.

HERTLEIN, E. Der Daniel der Römerzeit. Ein kritischer Versuch zur Datierung einer wichtigen Urkunde des Spätjudentums. Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1908. Pp. ix+90. M. 2.50.

The main contention of this booklet is that chaps. 1-7 of the Book of Daniel originated in the period of Rome's control of Judaea, and that Daniel's fourth kingdom is the Roman empire.

Lotz, W. Hebräische Sprachlehre: Grammatik und Vokabular mit Uebungstücken. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. Pp. vi+184. M. 4.

THOMSEN, PETER. Systematische Bibliographie der Palästina-Literatur auf Veranlassung des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas bearbeitet. I Band: 1895–1904. New York: R. Haupt, 1908. Pp. xvi+204. \$1.25.

This is an exhaustive collection of the titles of all the books, journals, and articles dealing with Palestine which appeared during the decade 1895–1904. It comprises 2,915 titles. It covers bibliography, history, geography, archaeology, paleography, and geology. The information concerning each title is limited to author, subject, place of publication, date, size, and price. The starting-point for the list was placed at 1895, because at that time the Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins ceased its publication of exhaustive lists of contemporary literature. The author's intention is to

continue these bibliographies, causing them to appear at intervals of five years. The next volume, however, coming 1905–1909 may be expected in 1910. This enterprise, scientifically planned and executed, deserves the support of all libraries and scholars interested in matters relating to Palestine.

STAERK, W. Aramäische Urkunden zur Geschichte des Judentums im VI und V Jahrhundert vor Chr., sprachlich und sächlich erklärt. Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1908. Pp. 16. M. 0.60.

This pamphlet makes available for students in convenient and inexpensive form the text of the three important Aramaic documents recently discovered at Elephantine which testify to the existence of a temple of Jehovah at that place in the sixth century B. C.

ARTICLES

DHORME, R. P. Les pays bibliques au temps d'El-Amarna. Revue biblique, October, 1908, pp. 500-19.

The first of a series of articles on the geography, history, religion, and language of Canaan prior to the Israelitish conquest as revealed by the Tel-el-Amarna letters. This article makes a study of the place-names in the letters and endeavors to locate them and identify them so far as possible with later Hebrew towns. The author's most important conclusion thus far is that the Amorites occupied northern Syria while the Canaanites dwelt in the south.

LÉVI, I. Le temple du Dieu Yahou et la colonie juive d'Elephantine au Ve siècle avant l'ère chrétienne. Revue des études juives, October, 1908, pp. 161-68.

The second and concluding portion of a popular résumé of the contents and significance of the Aramaic papyri recently discovered in Egypt.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

SMITH, DAVID. The Gospel of St. Matthew. (The Westminster New Testament. Edited by A. E. Garvie.) New York: Revell, 1908. Pp. 256. 75 cents.

This first volume of Principal Garvie's new series of handy commentaries on the New Testament promises well for the enterprise. It is attractive in form, and shows an intelligent appreciation of critical methods and problems. In interpretation Mr. Smith shows acuteness and imagination, and his comments are decidedly out of the commonplace. Indeed there is little to criticize in this promising Scottish enterprise except the use of the Authorized Version.

SWETE, H. B. Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente. (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte, 31.) Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1908. Pp. 16. M. 0.40.

Professor Swete is inclined to refer the Oxyrhynchus gospel fragment not to the gospel according to the Hebrews, or to the gospel according to the Egyptians, but in some other second-century gospel circulating in Egypt. The new Freer Logion, of Mark 16:14, in Swete's opinion, may well be an original part of the Longer Conclusion. It is certainly no mere gloss, and does not read like an interpolation.

Andrews, H. T. The Acts of the Apostles. (The Westminster New Testament. Edited by A. E. Garvie.) New York: Revell, 1908. Pp. 318. 75 cents.

Professor Andrews holds the Acts to have been written by Luke between 75 and 85 A.D. The text of Acts is divided into sections of moderate length which are followed by a concise and well-considered commentary. The use of the Authorized Version as the basis for the commentary has given the commentator the additional burden of correcting many a misleading rendering in his notes.

JACQUIER, E. Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament. Tome IV: Les Ecrits

Johanniques. Paris: Lecoffre, 1908. Pp. 422. Fr. 3.50.

Abbé Jacquier is professor of sacred scripture in the Catholic faculty at Lyons. He holds to the composition of all the Johannine writings, gospel, epistles, and Revelation, by John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. The gospel was written at Ephesus, toward the time of Trajan. Jacquier prefaces these familiar conclusions with a comprehensive survey of the history of Fourth Gospel criticism.

GOODSPEED, EDGAR J. The Epistle to the Hebrews. (The Bible for Home and School. Edited by Shailer Mathews.) New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp xi+132. 50 cents net.

The series of handy commentaries on the Old and New Testaments of which this is the first volume to appear is addressed to the 'general reader seeking to put at his disposal the results of the best modern scholarship. The Revised Version of 1881 occupies the upper part of the page, the somewhat full comment standing below. In the introduction Hebrews is held to have been addressed to Roman Christians in the later years of Domitian.

ROBERTSON, A. T. A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament. New York: Armstrong, 1908. Pp. xxx+240. \$1.50.

A considerable experience of the literature and the problems of New Testament grammar is evinced in this work. In precision and careful analysis it is less satisfactory. Its informal, sometimes even diffuse style perhaps adapts it rather for collateral reading than for direct class use. Its use as a work of reference might have been facilitated by a subject index. The scope of the work, including form as well as function, and noun as well as verb forbids any very detailed treatment of given subjects.

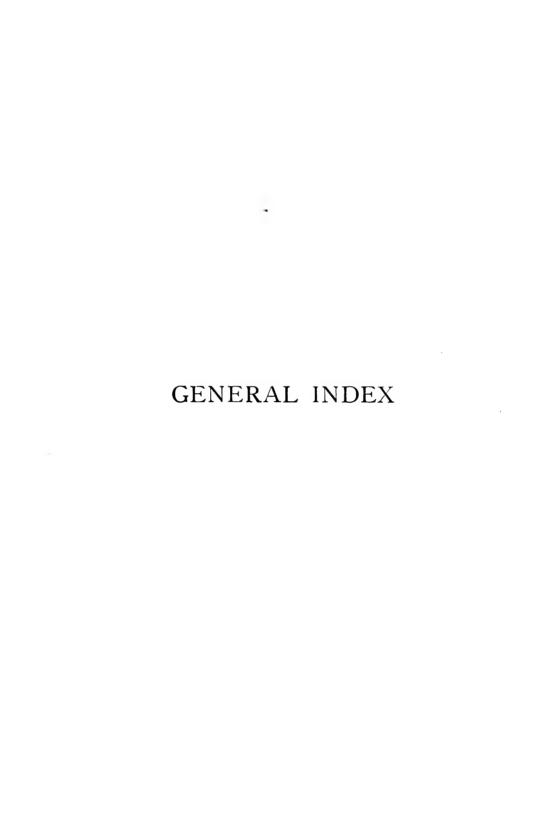
RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

Musselman, Rev. H. T. The Sunday-School Teacher's Pedagogy. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908.

STEPHENSON, E. M., AND MUSSELMAN, H. T. Child Study for Sunday-School Teachers.

The above are known as Books III and V respectively in "The National Teacher-Training Institute Text-Books," edited by H. T. Musselman. Eight of the twelve chapters of Book V are written by E. M. Stephenson. These seek to promote the personal preparation on the part of the teacher, and to characterize the nature and needs of the child. All they contain our teachers ought to know, yet it will require a high appreciation of their value and an earnest and enthusiastic purpose to carry a class of our older young people in our Sunday schools through these books.





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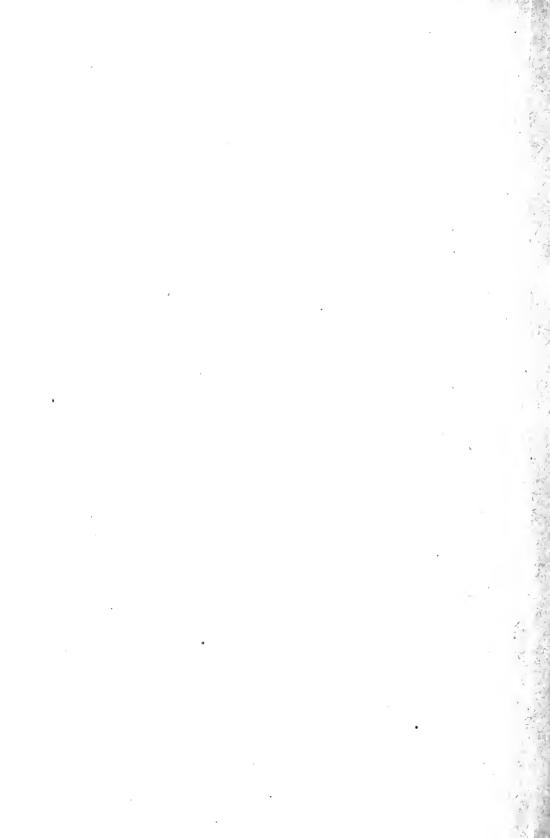
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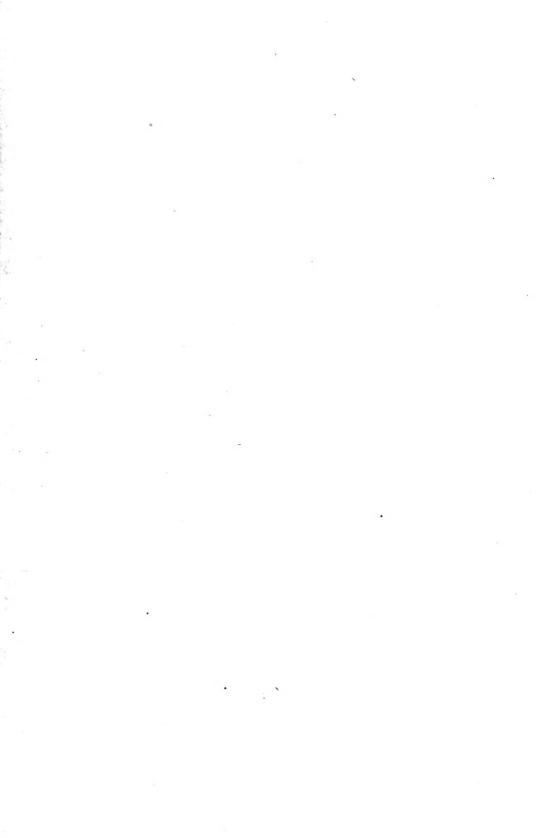
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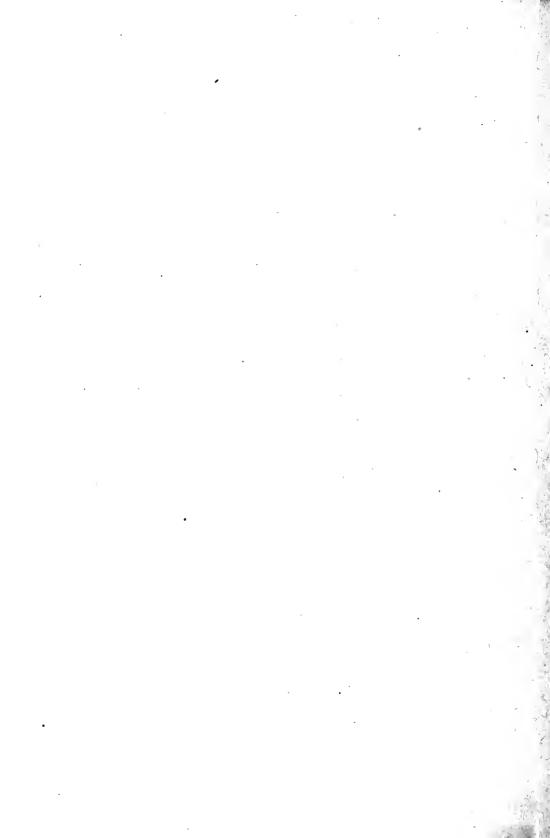
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